BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

IGNATIUS LOYOLA
THE EFFECT OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND UPON HIS LIFE AND WORK

submitted by

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INTRODUCTION

In dealing with the influence and effect of physical or geographical and social background upon the life and work of Ignatius Loyola one must take into account those general environmental influences which affect races and their life purposes. The aim of this thesis is to show that Ignatius Loyola was as much a product of his environment and of his time as of heredity. It is not without a realization of d difficulties to be met with that the problem is approached. Firstly, there is a danger to be guarded against, that of attributing to environment and to training facts which are really due to original nature or to selection. It is granted that traits of individuals are the result of organic variation, heredity, and selection, nevertheless, the individual may be greatly modified later by the particular environment in which he lives. Organic variation, heredity, and selection give each individual distinct individual and racial traits which will affect his reactions to his group and the reactions of his group to him [1] but the environment will determine largely the direction these reactions take. Professor H.S. Jennings says: "More properly characteristics are not inherited at all; what one inherits is certain material that under certain conditions will produce a particular

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1. Ellwood, Charles A. Psychology of Human Society, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1927

characteristic; if these conditions are not supplied some other characteristic is produced." [1] It is upon a general acceptance of this theory that this study is based.

Before studying the man himself it will be necessary to look into the background of the Basques, the people from whom he sprang. Here another difficulty is encountered. The amount of authenticated material available is very meager because the Basques have no written records, at least they had none until about four centuries ago. Investigators have brought to light nothing earlier than "Linguae Vasconium Primitive", the poems of Bernard d' Echepare which were produced about 1545. [2] However what is known can be accepted as authoritative because it represents the conscientious efforts of scholarly men [3] who have gleaned all they could from Roman and Spanish records. Most of them have lived among the people learning their traditions and studying their habits and mode of life.

1. Jennings, H.S.,"Heredity and Environment", The Scientific Monthly, September, 1924, P. 225 - 238

2. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. III., Edition XI., P. 487

3. Among such scholars are: *

   H. Belloc - English scholar, M.P. 1906-1910, Historian;

   Henry Dwight Sedgwick, American Essayist and Historian;

   Albert Bushnell Hart, Eaton Professor of Science of Government, Harvard, June, 1910, Professor of History and Historian;

   Paul Van Dyke, University professor, lecturer, and clergyman.

* Who's Who, 1928

Lastly, practically nothing is known of the life of Ignatius of Loyola before his conversion, which came rather late in his life, not until he was about thirty. Therefore his youth has to be reconstructed from the history of the time and by piecing together the two or three references to him in the local Spanish records. His own rather indefinite allusions to his early life found in his autobiography add very little to our information regarding his boyhood and youth.

PART I.

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT IN GENERAL UPON PEOPLES AND INDIVIDUALS

To say that in a race heredity is all powerful is as fallacious as to say that environment is almost powerless. Heredity alone is insufficient to explain man. There must be environment in which the inherited capacities may grow and show themselves. Environmental conditions rarely work directly and mechanically upon human groups. They usually work indirectly through changing biological conditions, habits, instinctive tendencies, feelings and ideas. In the case of the individual the influence is more direct. Individuals with poor inheritances have been placed in good environment at an early age and it has been found that undesirable qualities have remained dormant and the desirable ones have responded to the environment. Jacob Riis goes so far as to estimate environment at nine-tenths (influential).

It may be well to define the terms heredity, environment, and training or education as interpreted here. Heredity will refer to the physical and psychical characters of parents (native capacities) with which the individual is endowed. Environment will be understood to mean the aggregate of all the external conditions and influences affecting the life and development of that individual. Training or education though strictly an element of environment will be treated rather as a cooperating factor correlating heredity and

environment thus producing the individual or individuals and social groups.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

External conditions of climate, soil, food, and geographical location influence the formation of aggregations of people. The changes thus wrought in people are, like all changes wrought in the world at large, governed by law. "The living organism must be adapted to its environment."[1] Herbert Spencer stated it thus, "Life is the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." Man has always been closely bound by his geographical relations. Mountain barriers have kept him from migrating until he conquered them by his ingenuity. Greece developed along cultural lines -art and literature- as much because she was closely bound by her mountains, sky, and sea as because she possessed any special capacity for art or literature. With a different physical environment -say broad fertile plains- she might have found expression for her undeveloped capacities in agriculture. Her slaves might have become serfs and tillers of the soil as did the peasants of Germany. For similar reasons New England became predominately industrial and depended upon the West for the crops her mountainous and stony regions would not yield. Climate has exerted perhaps an even greater influence upon peoples than topography although topography to a large extent is causal to climate. Natural resources also contribute their share.

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1. Sedgwick and Wilson, Biology, p 103.

The settlement of our own country was motivated by a desire for larger expanses of tillable land, water power, and for climate suitable to various crops. As industry developed the location of coal and ore mines became a determining factor in the location of centers of population and industry. Charles Foster Kent although he slights the influence of heredity to some extent sums up well the influences of physical environment upon peoples: "The contrast between the narrow, intense, bigoted Jews of the New Testament times, and the fickle, self-indulgent, generous Samaritans is explained when we compare the rocky, unproductive, sombre hills of Judea with the open, rolling, richly fruitful fields of Samaria." [1] The passive East Indian and the stirring energetic European are of the same race, the same Indo-European stock; one can scarcely account for the difference except through a comparison of climates -the one enervating, the other stimulating and invigorating. [2] Thus physical environment makes its impress upon the group. It may help to preserve habit and custom and operating over relatively long periods of time may fix in the stock certain inherent traits which are favored by that environment.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Social environment is an equally important factor

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1. Kent,C.F., The Use of Geography in Religious Education p. 218

2. Indirect reference to Horne, Idealism in Education.

in explaining the characteristics of a people as well as the characteristics of the individual. Heredity insures the inherent traits both physical and mental being carried along from generation to generation. While inherent powers and capacities vary among individuals in all human society they are practically similar and have been as far back in history as we can go. It is quite improbable that there have been any considerable changes in the physical and mental constitution of man since the end of paleolithic times. Therefore it may be concluded with certainty that social environment as well as physical environment figures largely in racial and individual development. Individually and collectively we are influenced by customs and traditions, habits, and peculiar psychical- social factors at work upon us. The environment into which a human child is born is chiefly one of human individuals who have certain definite modes of behavior, certain definite social attitudes, and maintain certain definite relationships toward one another. The maintainance of these relationships results in group continuity and is accomplished by custom and customary imitation, tradition, and habits. The group perpetuates itself by taking up and absorbing the younger and immature members, securing their unconscious adjustment by imitation and by social pressure. Customs thus form the ground work of social life. Custom enables group life to move ahead but it may also hinder progress as will be seen later in certain instances in the case of the Basques. Customs supported by traditional beliefs are of even greater

importance in maintaining the continuity of group life.

The continuity of human groups is dominately cultural and historical. Social tradition is a mighty influence in racial development. Professor Hobhouse says, "Tradition is in the development of society, what heredity is in the physical growth of the stock. It is the link between past and future, it is that in which the effects of the past are consolidated and on the basis of which subsequent modifications are built up." [1] Going a step farther Professor Charles A. Ellwood says, "it (social tradition) molds both the character of individuals and the behavior of the group." [2] As social tradition grows men come to live more and more in a world of ideas however not to the exclusion of the world of objects. This growth of tradition, the accumulation of knowledge, ideas, beliefs, standards and values has gradually substituted a psycho-social environment for a merely physical environment. As a result "every developed type of civilization or culture is dominated by certain mental patterns which give it its particular form and color." [3] The interaction of individuals builds up tradition and tradition in turn preserves the continuity and identity of the group; it stores up experience and makes it available for the guidance of future conduct. Tradition in short is habit - habits of thinking and feeling handed down

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1. Hobhouse, Social Evolution and Political Theory, p. 34.
2. Ellwood, C. A., Psychology of Human Society, p.195.
3. Ibid. p. 194.

from generation to generation through mental interstimulation. These social habits have to change constantly to meet changes in environment and undergo readjustment. There is a tendency in most groups to avoid making adjustments and to be conservative. Thus attitudes become habitual and constitute social habit, a most important factor in the life of any group.

Tradition and group habit determine to a large extent the morals, and the nature of the essential behavior of a group. Tradition may be of long standing and inflexible. Conservatism becomes habitual and stands in the way of social and individual change. As a result we have such contrasting examples as the Barbarians of Northern Europe who laying aside,their own traditions took up those of the Greco-Roman civilization. On the other hand the Basques, a small conservative group living in the region of the Pyrenees held tenaciously to their own traditions which have served them more than two thousand years. The Greco-Roman civilization changed the whole tone of northern European civilization with the exception of these Basques who even today bear the stamp of a peculiar and distinctive civilzation with traditions and customs like no other people.

Group life requires more than sets of traditions, customs, and habits to make it function as a group. There must be some binding force which unites all in the activities of group life. This force is the working together, the interaction and coordination of thinking, feeling, and willing processes of its individual members. Hence there are

certain psychical-social factors at work within any group. This mental unity of the group is "social" mind. Every group has its system of ideas, standards and values. These systems are the product of many minds working in conscious and unconscious cooperation and form a part of the permanent social traditions which shape the thought and direct the efforts of fresh generations of learners. [1] This social thought forms the point of departure for individuals who are brought up in it.

Thus we see that in any group large or small there is definite interaction and interstimulation between individuals and individuals, between groups and groups, and between individuals and groups. Man lives in a psycho-social environment. He merely begins his life in the physical environment. The type of his existence is determined quite largely by geographical environment, but it is custom, tradition, and habits which mold his character and behavior. The individual reflects the ideas, standards and values of the group and of the race to which he belongs. He may even go beyond the social thought of his time and contribute something of his own as on the other hand he may fall short of it altogether.

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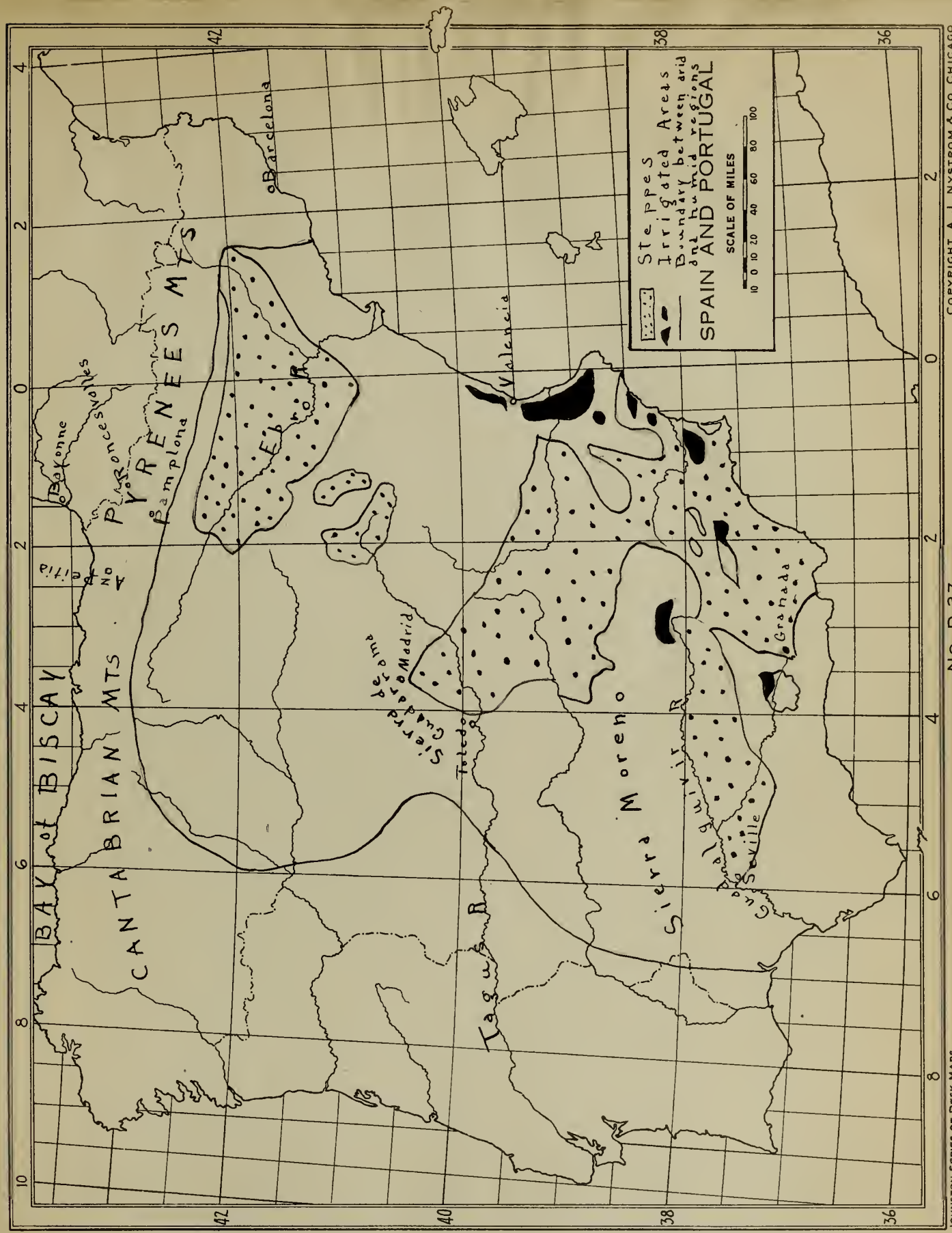
1. Hobhouse, Social Evolution and Political Theory, p.95
Indirect reference.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES OF SPAIN AND THE BASQUE PROVINCES

Since environment, physical and social, constitutes the soil, light, and moisture in which the individual with his native or hereditary endowments is to grow and if possible thrive, it is reasonable to look to the environment of Ignatius Loyola to account for the Loyola of history. Astudy of the climate and topography of Spain and the Basque Provinces, of the history of Spain through Loyola's day, and a study of the habits, customs, traditions and religion of the Basques themselves should yield much for each has contributed its share to his environment.

TOPOGRAPHY OF SPAIN

A study of the relief of Spain will convince one of the rather striking contrasts and yet weary uniformity side by side in its topography. There are mountains rising with Alpine grandeur above the snowline which shelter beautiful and fruitful valleys at their base. In the Basque country and similar sections are tracts of forest clad hill country, and almost contiguous to these are plains or tracts of level table-land, some of which is almost uninhabitable. The greater part of the interior of Spain is composed of a table-land bounded by the Cantabrian mountains in the south and divided by a series of mountain ranges stretching from east to west. Passes are everywhere few and difficult. Even in the south where the descent from



Distribution of Humid and Arid Regions of Spain
After:Bowman, "The New World Problems in Political Geography"

the table-land to the valley of Guadalquivir is comparatively gradual passes are few and communication difficult. This rugged character of the table-land cut by deep ravines and the absence of passes contributed greatly to the prolonging of the struggle between Christians and Mohammedans.

The whole of Spain is mountainous, irregular, and rugged. The table-land is everywhere cut with short Sierras. The longitudinal ranges of this high land are cut across by the transverse ranges of the Sierra-Nevada and Almeica, and by the Pyrenees across the north extending along the boundry between France and Spain, and the Cantabrain Chain. As a result of position and the number, location, and arrangement of mountains a large portion of Spain is arid. (Map I.) The P yrenees getting moisture laden winds from over the Bay of Biscay and the northwest section adjoining Portugal are the chief humid areas. These conditions as shall be seen later had a definite reaction upon the people.

Since our major interest lies in the Pyrenees and especially the section just west of the Bay of Biscay it will be necessary to take a somewhat close view of them.

The P yrenees are divided into three sections, the central, Atlantic or western, and the eastern. The central section includes the highest peaks, some of which are more than eleven hundred feet in height. In the Atlantic Pyrenees the average altitude gradually diminishes westward; while the eastern Pyrenees maintain a uniform

mean elevation.

The axis of the Pyrenees chain is built up of two main lines of approximately the same length; one southeast from a point near the Atlantic, the other west from the Mediterranean. These do not meet in a continuous chain but are connected by a low saddle. The northern slope of the Pyrenees is narrow and precipitous with the plains for the most part clearly separated. This is not the case on the Spanish side. Instead the main structure is in folds parallel to the water-shed; the lateral valleys extend to the southward for only a few miles until they are cut off by high east-and-west ridges which are very often as high as the main range. From the French towns the main range can be seen above the intervening lower ranges while on the Spanish side the view is shut off by successively high and rugged snow-clad peaks. These mountains even today are responsible for the isolation of the people living in them. Mr. H. Belloc in a very recent (1925) account of the Pyrenees says:

> "The Spanish valley forming a sort of little province to itself, will have towns and villages scattered in it haphazardly and thinly. .... The lateral communications from one Spanish valley to the next are usually more difficult than those between the French valleys; .... for many months (they) are impassible, and there is no such general arrangement of towns on the plain holding the approaches to the valleys as in France for the reason that the whole plain of the mountains on the Spanish side is far more troubled and irregular.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Spanish Pyrenees push out civilization, as it were, far from them. The difficulty and expense with which the civilization of the plains, and the things belonging to it must reach the remote

> upper Spanish valleys largely account for the curiously high degree of their isolation from the world. Many thousands of men are born and die in those high valleys, without ever seeing a wheeled vehicle, and without knowing the gravest news of the outer world for two or three days after the towns have known it." [1]

One needs only to read of the difficulties Charlemagne encountered on his Spanish March [2] and of the Conquest of Granada [3] to realize the extent to which Spain has been affected by her mountains, protected and at the same time withdrawn from the rapidly advancing world. The southwesterly trend of the ridges and the very nature of the mountains divided the people of northern Spain into two groups, first, the Basque Valleys and Navarre, in the vicinity of San Sebastian, and second, those occupying what was the nucleus of Aragon. From this small, hemmed-in territory came a small but mighty race which fought its way down to the Ebro, and to the Tagus, which defeated the great Emperor Charlemagne, which can claim the Cid Campeador for its historic type, and which brought forth the rugged, mystic Saint Ignatius, the "Saint Francis of Spain".

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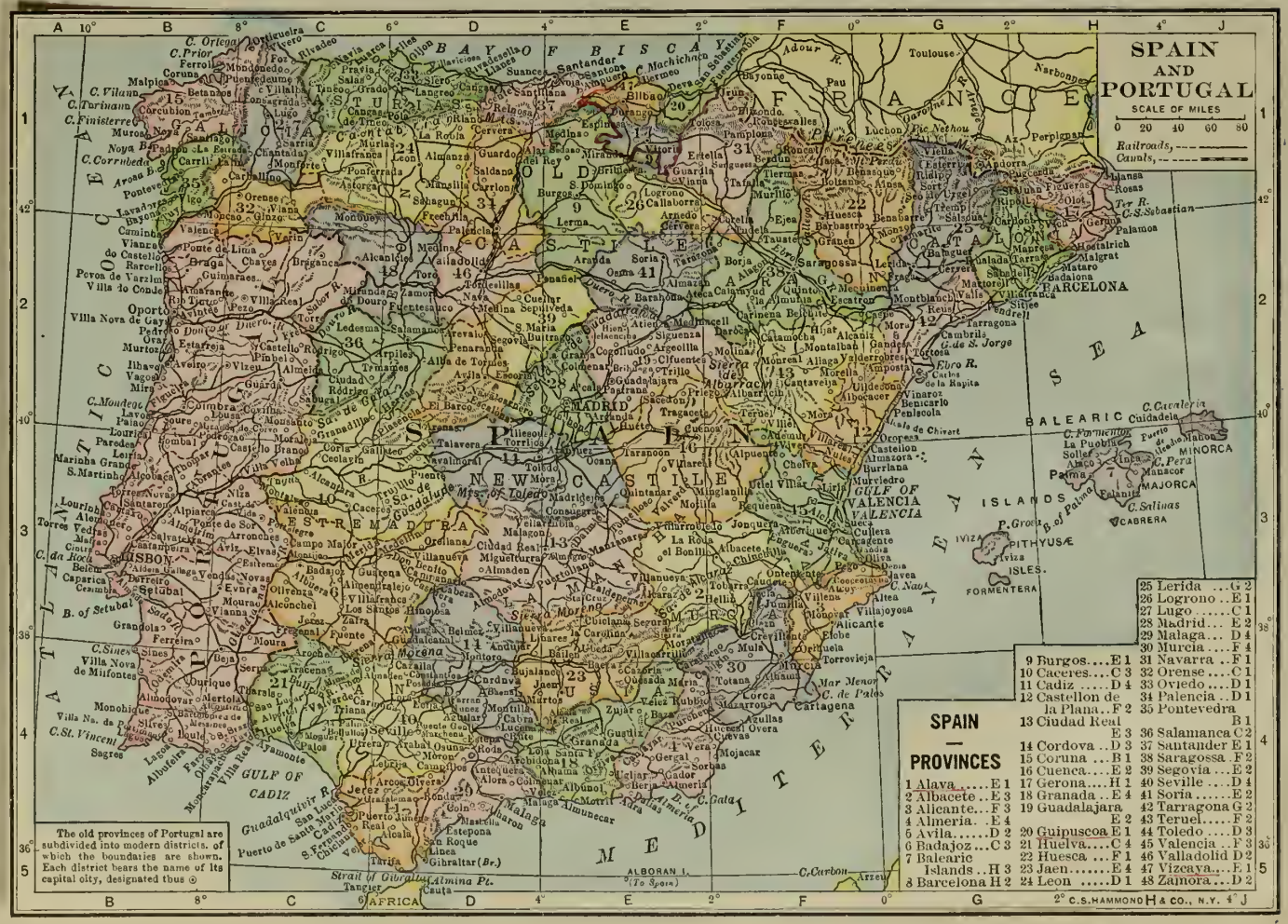
1. Belloc, H., The Pyrenees - New York, 1925 P. 35
2. As Charlemagne was crossing the Pyrenees on his way back from Spain, his rear guard was attacked in the Pass of Roncesvalles.
3. Irving, Washington, The Conquest of Granada


SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
Railroads,
Canals,
SPAIN — PROVINCES
1 Alava .....E 1
2 Albacete ..E 3
3 Alicante...F 3
4 Almeria. .E 4
5 Avila.....D 2
6 Badajoz...C 3
7 Balearic Islands ..H 3
8 Barcelona H 2
9 Burgos....E 1
10 Caceres....C 3
11 Cadiz .....D 4
12 Castellon de la Plana..F 2
13 Ciudad Real E 3
14 Cordova ..D 3
15 Coruna ...B 1
16 Cuenca....E 2
17 Gerona....H 1
18 Granada ..E 4
19 Guadalajara E 2
20 Guipuscoa E 1
21 Huelva....C 4
22 Huesca ...F 1
23 Jaen.....E 4
24 Leon .....D 1
25 Lerida ...G 2
26 Logrono ..E 1
27 Lugo .....C 1
28 Madrid... E 2
29 Malaga... D 4
30 Murcia ....F 4
31 Navarra ..F 1
32 Orense ....C 1
33 Oviedo ....D 1
34 Palencia ..D 1
35 Pontevedra B 1
36 Salamanca C 2
37 Santander E 1
38 Saragossa .F 2
39 Segovia ...E 2
40 Seville ...D 4
41 Soria .....E 2
42 Tarragona G 2
43 Teruel.....F 2
44 Toledo ....D 3
45 Valencia ..F 3
46 Valladolid D 2
47 Vizcaya....E 1
48 Zamora...D 2
The old provinces of Portugal are subdivided into modern districts, of which the boundaries are shown. Each district bears the name of its capital city, designated thus ⊙
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
PORTUGAL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BALEARIC ISLANDS
GULF OF VALENCIA
GULF OF CADIZ
Strait of Gibraltar
AFRICA
ALBORAN I.
(To Spain)
MADRID
LISBON
BARCELONA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
FORMENTERA
PITHYUSÆ ISLES.
C.S.HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.

CLIMATE

In accordance with its southerly position and the variety in its configuration Spain has within its borders examples of every kind of climate to be found on the northern hemisphere, with the exception of the torrid zone. Similarly extremes of temperature are to be found. The heart of the table-land is characterized by extremes as great as are to be found in almost any part of Europe. The northern and northwestern maritime provinces, on the other hand, have a climate as equable and as moist as that of the west of England or Scotland. These north and north-west maritime provinces with their mild and equable temperature and abundant rainfall afford a marked contrast to the enervating climate of the table-lands and to southern Spain which is sometimes called African. In this section vegetation is similar to that of central Europe. There are rich grassy plains and forests of oak, beech, and chestnut, although they are frequently isolated by rocky mountain walls. It is in this secluded, mountainous, yet fruitful section that the Basque Provinces are located. (Map II.)

The rain-bearing winds blow from the Atlantic eastward. The peculiar angle of the Pyrenees and the sudden trend westward of the Spanish coast at the corner of the Bay of Biscay causes the French Pyrenees to receive more moisture than the Spanish side. The wet winds from the sea lose most of their moisture to Galicia and the Austuruas before they

can strike the Pyrenees themselves from the south, while the same winds, coming around the range from the north, come upon the Pyrenees immediately after leaving the sea. Notwithstanding these facts the Basque sections, both French and Spanish, are so located that they get considerable moisture. The French get the rainfall as the winds reach the mountains which are narrow but precipitous. The Spanish Basques while separated from France and the rest of Spain by mountains have one side open to the sea. Accordingly this section receives sufficient moisture to produce a fine vegetable growth and good pasturage for cattle and sheep. The proximity of the sea makes the climate milder. Snow falls later here than in any other part of the Pyrenees and the weather is generally good from spring to late autumn.

THE SPANISH BASQUE PROVINCES

Although the main rib of the Pyrenees and the watershed do not exactly coincide the character of the mountains and the direction of the rivers have caused certain natural divisions of territory to be made: first, the Basque Valleys and Navarre, next, the group of valleys along the mouths of which stand the great Sierra de la Pena, these form the original stuff of Aragon, next to them, the group of the valleys beginning with the Gallego and ending with that of Venasque, which forms the eastern limb of Aragon, or ancient "Sobarbe", and the remaining section to the Mediterranean.

The fine tenacity of Spain in general and the Pyrenees in particular, has preserved with exactitude the ancient and natural divisions of the land. The long unbroken

ridge of Pyrenees forms the northern frontier of Navarre separating it from the Basses Pyrenees on the French side. Aragon still exists in the present Jaca. All east of Aragon is still called "Sobarbe". The 'fault' or saddle between the two main lines of the Pyrenees still forms a historical and racial break, - to the eastward are the Catalans and to the west are the Aragonese, and beyond them the Basques speaking a distinct and entirely different language. The whole range of Pyrenees has been the natural boundary separating the French and Spanish, peoples of markedly different racial characteristics. The deep but short French valleys are far more open to the culture and influence of the plains than are the Spanish valleys just over the water-shed.

At the present time Basque consists in the provinces of Alava, Biscay or Viscaya, and Guipuzcoa. One going to Spain today, finds that Guipuzcoa, the birthplace of Loyola is the only province which is wholly Basque. The ancient limits of Basque were much broader and extended to the dioceses of Pamplona, Bayonne, and Calahorra. (Map III) These provinces lie in a section extending from the Bay of Biscay to fifty or more miles eastward along the Pyrenees. The people of these provinces live in widespread settlements always in sight of lofty snow-clad peaks and with the tang of the Atlantic sea breezes always in the air.

While the Basque Provinces were isolated by steep and rugged mountains having but few passes, there were other features about their geography which were conducive to the

development of an independent, sturdy, industrious, and free spirited people. Their mild and equable climate was generally favorable and their small valleys were fertile and much more desirable than the more or less arid tableland of the interior. The sea afforded opportunity for whaling and fishing and no doubt adventure.

SPAIN

The subject of our study, although a Basque, was never the less intimately associated with Spain. As a worthy soldier he gave of his most vigorous and virile years up until he was thirty to the country to which his province was but loosely connected. Because of the place occupied by Spain as a nation during the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries and because of the influence that Loyola's career as a soldier had on his later life it will be necessary to review briefly the history of Spain. Only the more social phases of Spain's history will be taken up mentioning incidentally the political as it may be involved in the more social aspects of history.

ANCIENT SPAIN

Spain or more exactly the Iberian peninsula was only slightly known to the ancient world. Rome's acquaintance began about the third century B. C. The Phoenecian traders, Greeks and Carthagenians at earlier dates had made a few

scattered coastwise settlements in southern Spain, among them was Tartessus or Tarshish as the Jews knew it. (Kings, Book of) Upon the entrance of Rome all traces of these people were soon obliterated.. According to Greek and Roman historians the natives were Iberians and Celts and a mixed race formed by the intermarriage between the two. The Celts coming from France occupied the north and west; with their coming the native Iberians were pushed to the east and south. Between them were the Celiberians, a mixed race, and to the north in the region of the Bay of Biscay were the Basques, an entirely unrelated people. Regarding these people Mr. H.D. Sedgwick [1] quotes from A.H. Keane, "Man Past and Present",

> "It seems probable that the Iberians comprised both people who spoke-or whose ancestors had spoken -Basque and people who spoke the language or languages of the "Iberian" inscriptions. .... that the true Iberians were people who spoke the language of the inscriptions, and that Basque was spoken by a people who occupied Spain and southern Gaul before the Iberians arrived."

Roman historians represent the Iberians as grave, sober,and stubborn, vivid in imagination, florid and rhetorical in speech with subtle understanding, restless and rebellious. Strabo, the Greek geographer, speaks of their courage, ferocity, and pride, and refers to their nature as false and perfidius. If these characteristics ring true of the Iberians it can be seen readily why they would become slowly but finally Romanized. They resented the incoming of the Romans but were quick to see certain advantages in

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1. Sedgwick,H.D., A Short History of Spain, Little,Brown and Company, Boston, 1925 P. 450

Roman methods and the comforts associated with Roman civilization. The less civilized race accepted in great measure the ways and usages of their conquerors, partly under compulsion, but chiefly from the instinct of imitation and the obvious advantages of abandoning the worse for the better. The completeness of the Roman conquest is shown in the fact that the Spanish language has grown out of the Roman. By the third century the Spanish were converted nominally to Christianity. The Basques alone maintained their purity of language (unless represented by the Basques the Iberian tongue has disappeared) and were the least influenced by the Romans.

In the fifth century the Barbarians crossed the Pyrenees and established a Visgothic Kingdom somewhat like the Roman government but they recognized Constantinople as its center, With the Visgoths came Arianism and the conflict with Roman Catholicism. The Visgoths like the Romans failed to conquer the Basques. They contributed little to the Spanish nation except perhaps through their example of physical courage, personal independence and self-respect.

MOHAMMEDAN OCCUPANCY

Invasions for Spain were not yet at an end. The year 711 marks the Mohammedan Conquest which was the most thorough of all for it put Catholicism to the test and became on the one hand the enemy of Christianity for the next seven hundred years, and on the other the chief force in the unification of Spain.

With the Moslem invasion came a long and stormy conflict between the Mohammedans and the Christians. The weakness of Catholicism was evidenced in the fact that in seven years the Mohammedans conquered most of Spain south of the Pyrenees excepting the Basque section making converts as they went. The Jews who had been badly treated by the Christian countrymen became their allies. The Serfs cared little whom they served so long as they enjoyed comparative comfort, and freedom. Mohammedanism spread rapidly not because of any desire for proselyting but because of the economic advantages it brought. Arabian civilization reached its highest in Spain in the tenth century when all was darkness in the rest of Europe. However, the Moslem civilization like the Roman and the Visgoth had its perils. Out of its amalgamation of various peoples, Romans, Goths, Arabs, and Berbers it developed a renegade class interested in individual gain and self-aggrandisment. This class vacilated first to one side, then to the other and thus kept the other side from gaining. Thus the conflict between Christianity and Islam was aggravated until the final expulsion of the Moors in 1492.

THE EXPULSION OF THE MOORS

The Moors as the Spanish Mohammedans were called were a sort of loose confederation of Arabs, Berbers, Syrians, and some Jews. They were for the most part unorthodox Mohammedans and were primarily interested in their own gain.

There was dissatisfaction among the Berbers because they had been forced into the barren central section. The Arab tribes quarreled among themselves because of rivalries and disunion at the head of the Arab world. However, they were able to maintain a strong hold on Spanish possessions by employing mercenaries from Africa and by allying themselves with the persecuted Jews. These demoralized Arabs or Moors had penetrated most of Spain to the Pyrenees with the exception of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre including the Basques. These sturdy northern tribes repulsed their advances and pushed them gradually to the south reconquering Toledo in 1085, and by 1250 reached Cordova and Seville. Thus repulsed the Moors finally established themselves in the natural strongholds of the Kingdom of Granada. Here they remained until the final Conquest of Granada in 1492 under Ferdinand and Isabella. The Moors, however, were not driven out of the Peninsula completely until 1609.

Closely associated with the fate of the Moors is that of the Jews. The Jews although always hated by the Spaniards were given some rights not out of any love or respect for them but because of their usefulness to the Spanish government through their wealth, education, industry, and even their ability at arms. The kings relied upon their wealth and demanded of them exorbitant taxes which they willingly paid for their prosperity and little freedom. Notwithstanding their support the Jews were ruthlessly massacred in 1391. This was the turning point for the Jews.

A View of the Hills of Granada from a Window in the Alhambra

"Granada naturally rugged"

They became a hunted, relentlessly persecuted people. They were thus forced to cast their lot with the Moors and Granada became their refuge.

It was most unfortunate for Spain that her most industrious, thrifty, and skilful inhabitants, the Moors and the Jews should be so mal-treated and persecuted. Cordova during the tenth century had a population of half a million, enjoyed higher education in her university, and worshiped at some three thousand mosques. Her civilization stood out like a light on a hill shining in a world of darkness. Granada naturally a rugged, arid, inaccessible table- land was made to bloom under the persistent efforts of these people who supported by their toil and thrift practically the whole kingdom. Not satisfied with conquest the Catholic Kings clamped down upon them one of the most severe Inquisitions the world has ever known. This procedure coming at a time when unrivaled opportunity to become a flourishing and powerful monarchy was open to Spain reaped for her only irreparable loss. Had Spain had the backing of these two keenly intelligent, industrious, and thrifty groups her supremacy of power might not have been so fleeting as it was.

THE RISE OF SPANISH POWER

Spain was gradually working toward unification. The result of the Christian conflicts was a common faith; with the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile came a common throne. A common patriotism was the

last side of the triangle representing Spain's domestic policy to be completed. The general policy of the Catholic Kings whose reign marks the rise of Spanish power may consistently be called religious but close inspection reveals the three-fold nature of its aim - one crown, one country, one faith. After the Conquest of Granada and the acquisition in 1524 of the part of ancient Navarre which was on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, the Iberian Peninsula was divided between Portugal and Spain, Portugal occupying but a small portion. Thus came a loose kind of political unity. The monarchy has yet to combat a divided patriotism due to geographical divisions of the country and consequent language differences. Nevertheless with Ferdinand and Isabella as monarchs the cause of nationality received great impetus. Through Ferdinand Spain acquired a commanding position in international affairs. In 1504 Spain's rights in Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia were recognized and the Neapolitan Wars brought to an end. Spain became rival of Venice and was the leading power on the Mediterranean. Through Isabella Spain was made prominent by the discoveries of Columbus.

The Catholic Kings were working ever toward uniformity and absolutism. To carry out this policy they sought to ingratiate themselves with the middle class, to strip nobility of its political influence. To these ends the church was utilized as much as possible and as has already been mentioned the power of the Inquisition granted them by the Pope was worked to the limit.

Discovery had enlivened interest among the people and under the wise yet absolute rule of its monarchs Spain arose to great power and wealth. Her coffers were well filled as a result of wealth brought from the newly acquired America and under the pressure of Catholicism her people were united. At the death of Isabella Castile and Aragon were united under Ferdinand who reigned alone only a few years. At his death in 1519 he was succeeded by Charles V. (1519 - 1556) who later became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire which fact involved Spain in the most intricate political situation Europe has yet known.

At the death of Maximillian I., Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles found his right of the emperorship stoutly contested by Francis I. of France who feared a united German-Spanish-Italian state and also by Henry VIII. of England. By appeals to national and family sentiment and bribery Charles succeeded in sustaining his claim. He at once found himself in a multiplicity of difficult situations. He had a vast number of small and only loosely associated governments on which to keep a watchful eye and a controlling finger. The Netherlands consisted in seventeen distinct political units, Spain added the recently conquered Granada, American colonies, sections of Africa, the Two Sicilies as well as Aragon which was made up of four distinct states of Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and Navarre, to the intricacy of administration. Besides all these there were the Habsburg states, that is, Germany and Austria.

Fortunately for Spain Charles V. was compelled to leave the actual government largely to the individual units because of the press of foreign affairs, conflicts with Francis I. disagreement with Rome over his Italian policy, and Mohammedan advances up the Danube, besides difficulties of a more or less domestic nature in England. As a consequence of these preoccupations Spain was left to develop along her own lines and to execute the strong Catholic policy begun under Ferdinand and Isabella and to reform the clergy and purify the church. Had Charles been free to give Spain any attention he probably would not have changed her policy much since he himself was a staunch Catholic and more of a Spaniard than a true Habsburg.

THE INFLUENCE OF DISCOVERY

Spain had gained power through her persistent and final conquest of the Mohammedans and she had driven the Moors out of western Europe. This gave her certain prestige among nations. To this she added the glory of the discovery of America by Columbus.

The fifteenth century throughout was a century of geographical discovery. The compass which had been greatly improved and the astrolabe were in general use in the fifteenth century and made navigation much safer. Marco Polo had on his return to Venice in 1295 stimulated the interest of the entire West in Japan and the wealth of her markets. During the next century and a half Venice, Genoa, and

Portugal vied with one another in commercial enterprises and the search for trade routes to the East. Don Henrique, better known as Prince Henry, the Navigator, promulgated with a large measure of success a plan to extend the power of Portugal and convert to Catholicism the native slaves. His was one of the final efforts of the crusading spirit and culminated after his death in the naval campaigns against Muslum in the Indian Seas. Albuquerque the leader of this crusade planned and fully expected to recover the Holy City of Jerusalem from the Mohammedans. [1] This spirit of crusade permeated the activity of the whole fifteenth century. Columbus had as his avowed primary purpose the Christianization of the heathen peoples. It was this plea which had appealed to Isabella so strongly for Spain's centuries-long crusades against the Mohammedans had bred in her people a stern Christianity which urged them on to undertake missionary enterprises in distant lands even at great hazards. [2] Chivalry and the spirit of the crusades were still surging through Spanish veins. It was in this spirit that Isabella sent out Columbus although Ferdinand more politically inclined secretly hoped for new glories and additional power.

The many expeditions sent out by Spain, Portugal,

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1. Cambridge Modern History, V. I., P.11
2. Hayes, Carlton, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. I., Chapter II.

and Italy resulted in several marked changes which affected the economic world and through it the social conditions. In 1486 Portuguese ships under Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Later Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape and sailed up to Calicut, the much desired Indian trading port. About this time Copernicus (1473 - 1543) startled an already surprised world with his discovery that the earth was but one of a system of planets revolving about the sun. It was for Spain to reap the crowning glory when Columbus first set foot on the new land across the north Atlantic.

The early part of the sixteenth century saw Spain undertaking the conquest of the western world. By 1519 Cortez had entered Mexico, and a few years later Pizarro carried Spanish power into Peru. The whole world was alive to the marvelous changes taking place. Traders and capitalists saw prospects of great economic gain. To the church it was an unequalled opportunity to extend Christianity. In fact the church assumed more than a spiritual interest in affairs of the time. The supremacy of the church as final authority in all things is strikingly illustrated in the fact that Pope Alexander VI. issued on May 4, 1493, the Bull dividing the uncivilized world between Spain and Portugal by the "papal line of demarcation". Spain accordingly became the champion of the Papacy.

The general effect of this Age of Discovery and the stimulation of trade was to create a wealthy burgher

class, and to drive the peasants into the cities for work which they seldom found, and to develop a capitalistic control. Most prominent of this class were the Fuggers and Wilsers. This unprecedented prosperity without industry resulted in the luxurious living which led to grossly intemperate habits and sensuality. Even the church and her clergy became subject to the vileness of the age. Spain was still too much under the control of feudalism to have a peasant problem. The feudal lords and vassals were responsible for the serfs of their land. Her commerce was not of the type to create a capitalist class. While Spain was not necessarily active in commerce the influx of wealth from conquests in America resulted in the neglect of her industry so that in the reign of Philip II. (1555 - 1598) we see the decline of Spain's short supremacy. All these conditions and the Revival of Learning made the Reformation inevitable.

Such was the setting in which Ignatius Loyola spent more than the first thirty years of his life. Spain mostly semi-arid table-land and rugged impassible mountains exacted of her population stubborn, persistent, untiring effort in order to exist. Her people struggling for centuries against unwelcome religions, against Arianism, Mohammedanism, and Judaism, developed a stern, unrelenting d devotion to Catholicism which characterizes them even today. The very nature of the country made it difficult for her to shake off the shackles of feudalism. The Spanish lords held tenaciously to their little estates, each protected by its

mountains, long after England and France had given up feudalism. First loyalty was to the religion which they had striven so obstinately to preserve. Patriotic loyalty was divided between king and lord.

ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BASQUES

The Basques do not differ anthropologically from other peoples of Europe but they present a marked physical type utterly distinct from those on every side. They are not like the Celts, Teutons, nor Magyars. Very little is known concerning them and their origin can be accounted for only theoretically. The chief of these theories are: (1) that they are descended from the tribes whom the Greeks and Latins called Iberi; (2) that they belong to some of the fairer Berber tribes and through the ancient Libyans, descend from a people depicted on the Egyptian monuments; (3) the Atlantic theory, that they belong to a lost Atlantic continent, whose inhabitants were represented by the Guanches of the Canary Islands, and a fair race on the western coast of Africa; (4) that they are an indigenous race who have never had any greater extension than their present quarters.[1] Actual knowledge of them goes back only as far as the fifth century B.C. This consists in a very few references to them in Roman records and by Strabo, the Greek geographer. Lucan refers to the Pyrenean Iberians as "the terror of the world". Livy, the historian, reported that the Romans found the

1. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. III., Edition XI., P. 487

Iberians restless and rebellious. Sedgwick contends that these references undoubtedly relate to the Basques. [1]

Strange to say these Basques have no tradition of their origin, no records, and no history beyond the fifteenth century. Not so strange, however, if one considers that the language is agglutinative. Its polysynthesism made it too cumbersome for written language. "Azpilcuelayaraycosaroya-renberecolarrea" simply means "the lower field of the high hill of Azpicuelta". [2] While they had no traditions of origin and history they did have strong traditional theories and policies of government. Until the end of the fifteenth century the Basques had been only semi-dependent upon the Spanish monarchy. While the local liberties of the other provinces were sacrificed to the centralizing policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Basques of Biscay and Guipuzcoa were given the right of self-government. This was due partly to respect for traditions and partly to the necessity of securing the loyalty of a frontier people. From 1425 the provinces were devastated by party wars among the lesser nobles. Chivalry was in its decadence and feudalism was in full sway. Henry IV. (1460-1498) and Ferdinand strengthened the power of towns and forbade the erection of fortifications. Existing fortifications were torn down and castles destroyed in an attempt to force loyalty to a central power.

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1. Sedgwick, H.D., A Short History of Spain, P. 5
2. Russell, Count Henry, Biarritz and the Basque Countries, Chapter V., P. 52

"THE SEWING CIRCLE," By Ramon de Zubiaurre.

A group of Basque women in their native countryside

The Castle of Loyola belonging to the grandfather of Ignatius was destroyed all but the first floor. Such procedure effected a kind of union with the monarchy but the three Basque provinces, Alava, Viscaya, and Guipuxcoa, remained apart and self-governing. Their contribution to the revenue of Spain was a"free gift" and was regulated by their own "juntas" and granted only on condition that they enjoy the right of a redress of grievances. Royal orders and decrees were not valid unless countersigned by the Basque "juntas". In foreign affairs they were regarded practically as a separate nation. As late as 1713 they are mentioned separately in the Treaty of Utrecht. They enjoyed freedom from direct taxation and their right of bearing arms - the special marks of nobility. Though handicapped by an unwieldy language their oral tradition was handed down with remarkable definiteness and was backed by a quality of character that commanded respect and made self-government possible. Since 1866 they have come entirely under the Spanish government.

These interesting people still cling to the customs or folkways of their fathers. Their obstinate conservatism is one of their outstanding characteristics. As a form of government they have always been satisfied with a simple meeting of the male members of the community conducted by the highly respected older members. They possessed a high respect for their women and the eldest child whether boy or girl inherited ancestral property even among the peasantry. Their methods of industry are practically the same as they were five hundred years ago. Their cutting instruments are

of stone; three days constitute a week; and instead of a plow they use the laya.

The Basques were deeply steeped in Catholicism though not always as devout Christians as we might expect. Anterior to Christianity the little that is known suggests that they worshipped the elements, sun, moon, morning star, and possessed a belief in immortality. Like all early tribes they were imaginative and superstitious. Religion has always held a very definite and prominent place in their life.

A study of their literature since the fifteenth century and of the Basques themselves reveals a remarkable strength of character. They are sturdy, independent, and do not fear solitude. Their physical isolation has made them obstinately conservative. Even today they retain their peculiar agglutinative language as the home tongue although it is probable that most of the children are taught Spanish in the schools. [1] As soldiers they are splendid marchers and retain a tenacity and power of endurance which attracted the attention of the Romans and is mentioned in the few references made to them in their records. They were better in defense than in attack which accounts in part for their retaining practically the same region for more than two thousand years. For the same reason they did not press beyond their mountain borders. Mr. Hart cites an instance of Basque valor and swift revenge contemporary to the tying of some

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1. Hart, Albert Bushnell, "Who and What Are the Basques", The Mentor, Vol. XIV., No. 1., P. 18

Basques by the Mayor of Bayonne to the piers of a bridge until the tide rose and drowned them to prove that the territory was Bayonnaise, which indicates the character of their fighting ability, prowess, and physical strength. "Just then a valiant Basque, Antonie Chaho, and two others with him, dropped down along the wall, lizard fashion, making a cover of dead bodies and, gliding between the great legs of the Bayonne, began work with their knives upon their hamstrings, so that the Bayonnaise, wedged in the stairway and embarrassed by the men and the pikes that were falling crosswise, could neither get on nor wield their spits with such nicety. At this moment, Jean Amacho and several young Basques, having espied their moment, leaped more than twenty feet clear into the middle of the hall, to a place where no halbreds were ready, and began cutting throats with great promptness, then, thrown upon their knees, fell to stabbing. They killed far more than they lost, because they had deft hands, while many were well padded with wool and wore leather shirts, and, besides, the handles of their knives were wound with cord and did not slip. Moreover, the Basques from above, who now numbered more than a hundred, rolled down the staircase like a torment of goats; new ones came up every moment, and in every corner of the hall, man to man, they began to run each other through." [1] Having struggled for centuries against the inroads of Mohammedans

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1. Hart, Albert Bushnell, "Who and What Are the Basques?", The Mentor, Vol. XIV., No. 1, P. 18

and Romans they became gloomy, stern people. Finally accepting Catholicism they became imbued with the spirit of the Inquisition, and were the arch enemies of heretics. Even Loyola, the truest of Catholics, became the victim of the Inquisition.

Stern, hard, almost brutal, and of fiery temperament as the Basques were they were also highly emotional. This is shown in their music. The rhythm of the Basque music differs altogether from that of other parts of Spain. "It expresses in its own strange fashion the spirit of the wild land of its birth, and the "Gaurnica",[1] the national hymn, heard thousands of miles beyond the shadow of the Pyrenees, will rouse a Basque to such enthusiasm as we whose blood runs so quietly in our veins can hardly understand."[2] They are great lovers of honest amusement and bodily exercise. Old and young take part in "pelota" and they take great delight in running. They play with a passion equal only to their agility, vigor, and suppleness.

The fact that their habits, customs, and local government have existed practically without change and without detriment to the people testifies to considerable intellectuality. They showed keenness and foresight in their early dealings with Spain in the matter of retaining certain rights. This also speaks well for their trustworthiness, honesty, and dependability. They were skilful sailors

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1. "Guarnica" is the sacred tree in the village where Loyola was born and was emblematic of their liberties.

2. Bensusan, S. L., Home Life in Spain, P. 100

"THE RACE," By Ramon de Zubiaurre

Outdoor sports are the perennial joy of these lively hill people

and fishermen. The fact that they followed the Cabots to Newfoundland in 1497 testifies to their fearlessness. This was no small feat for a people of limited area with little financial backing. While they had no literature and their language was cumbersome they possessed a wealth of native intelligence and ingenuity.

How such an intelligent, active, virile, people kept to themselves for so many years without deteriorating is a question almost as difficult to answer as the question of their origin. Certain circumstances enabled them to preserve their independence and to cultivate distinctive characteristics. The mountains shut out any possible stimulus to change and at the same time made the defense of their country less difficult. Their seaboard on the other hand gave them contact with commerce and fishing. Their peculiar language shut out exchange of ideas. Most of their advances were therefore the results of native genius and not borrowed. Constant warfare served to increase their clannishness, conservatism, and race pride, and at the same time to bring to the front the most virile minds. The Basques always fought a defensive warfare, thus they were able to keep their government intact. The comparative poverty of the Basques was also an aid to independence and continuity. No conquering country would be greatly enriched by their territory. For the Basques the country was sufficient to sustain their number comfortably. As a result the Basques are known to be temperate in their living, and to possess high standards and ideas of values.

PART II.

THE LIFE OF IGNATIUS LOYOLA

EARLY ASSOCIATIONS

Ignatius Loyola was born in the Castle of Loyola, near Azpeita, in the province of Guipuscoa (Map III.) in 1491, 1492, or 1495.[1] This difference of three or four years is of little consequence here since his conversion, the crisis of his life, did not take place under the age of twenty-six or thirty. At either age the psychological reactions would be practically the same. Ignatius' father was Lord of Onaz and Loyola and represented two of the most ancient lines of Basque nobility. The province of Guilpuscoa was divided into two factions which for centuries had kept alive feudal wars, A fiery warlike spirit was no small part of the heritage of Ignatius, the youngest of a family of thirteen children. All of his brothers except two followed the careers of soldiers - one died in infancy and one took the rectorship of the church of Azpeitia, a position belonging naturally to the family..

There are no complete accounts of the early life of Loyola. Even a large proportion of those dealing with his later life are biased through too great love or dislike for the father of the Jesuits, depending upon the time when they were written.

Ignatius' father, one of the chief lords of

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 16, accepts 1491 as date of birth.

2. Sedgwick, H. D., Ignatius Loyola, P. 1 and Appendix C, supports 1495 as the date.

Guipuscoa had made friends with many higher noblemen outside of his own province. It was the custom of the lesser nobility to send their children to the courts of more powerful nobles for training. At the invitation of Juan Velasquez de Cuellar, Governor of the fortress of Arvelo, Ignatius, the youngest son of the house of Onaz and Loyola, was sent to his household to become a page and learn the "exercises of a gentleman". Loyalty and respect for the Crown was also instilled into the boyish mind. The Queen kept her watchful eye in a general way upon the training of the lads and encouraged loyalty by finding careers for them in the Moorish and Italian wars or as officers at a Court.[1] Young Loyola must have visited the court of the pleasure-loving Germaine who became Ferdinand's second wife after the death of the pious Isabella. While his master and mistress had splendid reputations for justice, generosity, and piety, the court life was not so conducive of religious character. The air was charged with feudalism, a man quickly drew his sword to avenge insult often more imaginary than real, and punctuated wild jests with sword thrusts. Such was the atmosphere in which the boy spent his most impressionable years.

While chivalry was in its decadence the vestiges of it remained in the education of nobles' sons.[2] As in the early days the boys were taught the duty of noble service,

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1. Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I., Chapter XI., P. 354
2. Appendix, A, (1) "Training of Boys in Chivalry"

courage, and obedience. The three factors of chivalry, war, religion, and the love of ladies, although confused with feudalism carried over into the fifteenth century. All the genteel manners of the court and the rudiments of gallantry as well as service to the master were taught. Reading and writing were also considered essential to the education of a gentleman. Thus the boyish imagination was fed upon the tales of chivalry which he heard and read. Such education served only to intensify the naturally fiery, stubborn Basque temperament, and as the boy grew to manhood it was but natural that he follow the path of other youth of the nobility.

Ignatius' father when he became the Lord of Onaz and Loyola had learned through experience the wisdom of fighting for the Crown rather than against it. Accordingly Ignatius like his brothers took up the life of a soldier. He was carefree, high-spirited and entered into all activities with vigor and intensity. A story is told of Loyola's swift retaliation "when he met a line of men in the street and t they bumped him and forced him to the wall, he drew his sword and charged them so fiercely that if there had not b been somebody to hold him back either he would have killed some of them or they would have killed him." [1] How similar this is to the swift revenge of the Basques at Bayonne! Ignatius was now a typical Spanish soldier. Having served his patron, the Governor of Arevalo faithfully, at his

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 23, Cited - Scripta I. 566

death he joined the forces of the Duke of Najero, a rich and powerful Grandee of Spain and friend of his father. Here he became an officer in the Duke's bodyguard. He was now virtually in royal service, but it was three years before his skill as a soldier was put to the test.

A SOLDIER FOR SPAIN

This later period of his soldiery is highly important in a study of Loyola's life for it exposes the "stuff" of which he was truly made. When all the finery and foppery of the court life of Spanish nobility is tornaway there remains not merely a fiery, gallant youth and lover of ladies but a man of courage, fidelity , and wisdom. When the city of Najera revolted and he was forced to lead the Duke's army against it and bring it to obedience, and the city was thrown open to the soldiers for plunder he refused to enrich himself because he considered it unworthy of a hidalgo who was serving for honor and the Queen. The tales of chivalry read with such eagerness as a youth had taken root. No doubt he knew well the"Decalogue of Chivalry" and had secretly dreamed of the day when as a soldier he could put it into practise. Spain was rising to national power and her young men were exultant with national pride and self-confidence. All Europe was agog with the romance of discovery and adventure, but in Spain the human pulse beat strongest. Here romance had been tempered by centuries of warfare against unbelievers. Religion had become welded as one with patriotism, one with self-preservation, one with the lusts of battle and the joy

of triumph. Loyola had lost two brothers in the Neopolitan wars with France, and another in the conquest of America and had spent most of his boyhood within a day's ride of the pass of Roncesvalles famous for the great Roland Traditions. He may have himself seen service when the Duke of Alva wrested the southern portion of Navarre from France.

Early in his career as a soldier Loyola showed unusual ability in handling men and his generous and conciliatory temper fitted him especially well for settling factious difficulties among his people. His greatest military experience came at the seige of Pamplona, greatest because from this time on his life was destined to take an entirely different course.

Uprisings in other sections of Spain had left Navarre stripped of troops. The French took the opportunity to push across the Pyrenees. They made unresisted progress due to the people's ready acceptance of Henry IV. of France. When the French troops neared Pamplona the Duke of Najera hurried for reinforcements. In the absence of the Duke the people within the city revolted. Loyola thoroughly devoted to the Queen of Spain was detailed to subdue the revolt and defend the city as best he could. All of the officers except Ignatius desired to surrender but Ignatius' knightly honor anddevotion to the Queen demanded that they hold out as long as they could and die in honor if need be for their country. On this occasion the first glimpse of the true religious character of the man is caught. Realizing the desperateness of the fight and desiring to make his peace

with God contrary to Catholic practice "he confessed his sins to one of his comrades in arms". In the course of the bombardment Loyola's right leg was broken and severely torn by a cannon ball and a flesh wound was made in the left. Pamplona was surrendered and the French found the wounded Loyola, treated him kindly, and after a few days sent him to his father's Castle of Azpeitia.

He was in very bad condition from his wound and his leg had been badly set leaving a bone protruding below the knee. He had always been "easy to look at" and had taken great pride in his personal appearance. The condition of his leg would leave him a cripple and for Loyola the idea of being a cripple was irreconcilable with a career in the world. Accordingly he submitted again to the poor sugery of his day and had his leg reset suffering it to be weighted for about a year and a half that it might not grow short. He tells in the Confessions that in all these operations which he suffered before and after this, he never spoke a word, nor showed any sign of pain except a clenching of his fists hard. [1] This is suggestive of true Basque courage and fortitude. The severity of the operation so affected him that on the eve of the festival of Saint Peter he was told that if he were not better by midnight he would die. But "the sick man had always been devoted to Saint Peter and so it pleased God that by midnight he was better." [2]

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 29
2. Ibid. P. 27

The days of convalescence grew long and weary. While Ignatius had no learning his education as a gentleman enabled him to read well. Accordingly he resorted to reading tp fill the weary hours. His taste naturally turned to "Amadis of Gaul" and the tales of chivalry. All available books of this type were soon exhausted. It was then that the "Lives of the Saints" and the "Life of Christ", the work of Ludolf the Saxon, a Carthusian Prior of Coblenz fell into his hands. With the reading of these books came the crisis of his life.

CONVERSION AND SELF-DEDICATION

The best insight into Loyola's conversion and the circumstances leading up to it is to be gained from his own words as recorded by his Scribe:

> "When he laid aside these books, he did not always think of what he had read, but, sometimes, of the worldly things about which he used to think before. And out of many vain things which offered themselves to his mind, one took such possession of his heart that he was buried in thought about it two or three and even four hours without noticing it; imagining what he had to do in the service of a lady: the means he must use to go where she was, his motto, the words he would say to her, the deeds of arms he would do in her service. And he became so filled with pride in this that he did not consider how impossible it was for him to put it into action because the lady was no ordinary noble woman, neither was she countess or duchess, but of much higher station than either of these." [1]

It is not surprising that the day dreams of a man who as a boy had been trained in chivalry and who had in all

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, "Confessions" cited p 29

probability attended the court of the beautiful Queen Germaine should be woven around an unattainable woman. She may have even been the Queen herself. He says further that these day dreams did not end there:

> "However Our Lady helped him, bringing it about that to these thoughts there succeeded others which were born of what he read. Because reading the life of our Lord and of the Saints, he thought, talking with himself, 'How would it be if I did what St. Thomas did, or what St. Dominic did? ..... These thoughts lasted a good while and when other things came in between, there succeeded the worldly thoughts spoken above and they lasted also a long time and this succession of different thoughts continued many days, he being always fixed on the thought which occupied him; whether it was of those worldly exploits which he desired to do, or of those others of God which offered themselves to his imagination, until, tired out, he left them and attended to other things. There was, however, this difference. When he was dwelling on the worldly day dream he found much pleasure, but when tired out, he ceased to think of that, he found himself arid and discontented; and when he imagined going barefooted to Jerusalem and eating only herbs and doing all the other penances which he saw the saints had done, he was contented and joyful not only in such thoughts but after, wearied, he had ceased to dwell upon them. At first, however, he did not really weigh that difference, until one time his eyes were a little opened and he commenced to wonder at that difference and to reflect on it, catching hold by experience of the fact that after one sort of thoughts he remained sad and after the others joyful, and so, little by little, coming to know the diversity of spirits which moved him; the one of God, the other of the devil. This was his first reasoning about things of God."[1]

Loyola contemplated these things with the mind of a soldier; the battle for him seemed a very real one. He saw God and the Hosts of Heaven arrayed against the Devil and the Demons of Darkness; the battle ground was the world and the prize of the conquest was the soul of man. Good was

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, "Confessions;" cited p 50

eternally pitted against the evil in the world. His whole life and the atmosphere in which he lived was conducive to a militant attitude toward the central problems of life. He was anxious and eager that he might find the solution for them. The mind of a soldier "is in a state rendering it a quick and ready solvent of new experience, all its fixity of idea is broken up, the deep foundations of its prejudices are shaken, it is in a receptive condition, fresh thoughts readily pass the broken barriers of its reserve." [1] He was quick to see the relation between battling for temporal gain and the Queen of Spain, and battling for spiritual gain and the Queen of Heaven.

One night the vision of Our Lady with her Child in her arms appeared to him.[2] This vision "increased his hope, faith, and charity, and called him to heavenly things and the salvation of souls". Contemplation of the ladies of the world brought him naught but emptiness and discontent; when his thoughts rested on God he found peace and joy even after real contemplation had ceased. Accordingly the Queen of Heaven became the object of his knightly devotion.

For this purpose he had to purge himself of the sins of the world. There were open to him two methods of doing this, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or to practice vigils, fasts, flagellations and numerous other acts of penance. So earnest was he in his devotion that he decided to

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1. Ross, Social Psychology, P. 249

2. Appendix B. (1)

do both. Therefore he left his ancestral home and made his way to Montserrat. Before proceding further let it be understood that Loyola did not turn to religion because he was incapacitated for civil and military life. His leg was healed so that he was capable of walking great distances, and only a slight limp was noticeable. It is unjust to believe that he devoted only what remained of a wrecked physique and a dissipated manhood to religion, He was as devoted and loyal to Our Lady and her Child as was the noblest knight to his queen in the days when chivalry was at its finest.

In fact at this period in his life Loyola is a definite throw-back to the eighth and ninth centuries. He was wholly dominated by medieval ideas. He had lived in the mental atmosphere of an earlier century; and in many ways he always remained an intellectual contemporary of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic. In spite of these medieval ideas he saw with a clear vision the practical necessities of the Roman Church of his own day and of the future. The fact that he was reared among a people whose judicious conservatism had made for continuity of the group was not lost in his impulsive response to religion. Rather it was this very conservativism moderated by a keen intellectuality that preserved the Church. This medieval spirit which is so intimate a part of the character of the man is strikingly illustrated by an incident which occurred on his way to Montserrat. While riding along he he overtook a Moor on a mule; they rode along and fell into conversation which turned to Our Lady and a discussion of the Virgin Birth. The Moor said that he believed the Virgin

had conceived superhumanly, but he could not believe that she had remained a virgin after the birth of Christ. The Moor rode on leaving Ignatius to contemplate what he had said. The more he thought about it the more it seemed to him like blasphemy. All his chivalrous spirit became at once alive. Should he take up the sword in defense of the Church and the honour of Our Lady? But his chivalrous mood was soon moderated by his characteristic sense of right and wrong. He decided to let his mule go along with a free rein and if it pleased God that he turn down the road taken by the Moor he would slay him. If the mule took the opposite road it would be as much the will of God. [1] He continued toward Montserrat "thinking, as was his wont about the deeds he had to do for the love of God",

Loyola was a Spaniard through and through, sensitive, calm exterior with a beating pulse beneath and with an imagination peopled by figures of knights errant and ascetic saints. He possessed all the idealistic nature of Saint Francis and the militant nature of Saint Dominic battling for the Church. Arriving at Montserrat he carried out with exactitude his intention "to watch over his arms all one night without sitting or lying down, but standing and now kneeling before the altar of Our Lady". Preparatory to this he spent three days in confession. On March 24, 1522, the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation, he dedicated his life to battling for God

1. Van Dyke cites a parallel instance three hundred years earlier. "A layman when he hears Christian doctrine evil spoken of should defend it only with the sword, plunging it in to the hilt in the infidel's body." Ignatius Loyola, P. 359

and hung his sword and dagger by the altar pledging himself to defend the honor of Our Lady. Finding his chief temptations to be sins of the flesh, ambition for worldly honor, and wealth, he denied them all by vowing perpetual chastity donning the pilgrim's dress, and dedicating himself to perpetual poverty. The spirit of the crusader and the gentleness and sweetness of the "poor little man of God" commingled in that memorable vigil.[1] The next morning the fiery, vigorous, highly emotional Basque started out on a new career. He took into it all of the intensity of temperament and obstinate conservatism of his race. The difference lay in his objective and his devotion to that objective. Introspection had already convinced him that his whole duty in life was the saving and caring for his soul. Manresa saw an entirely new Ignatius but not yet the Ignatius that the world was to know.

At Manresa Loyola chose to practice vigils and flagellations. He spent hours in prayer and fastings and led the life of the true ascetic. He humiliated himself by going unkempt and letting his hair and nails grow. Here the warrior battled to conquer the flesh until "there came to him disgust with the life he led and impulses to leave it. .... He determined very clearly not to confess any more of his past life, and so from that day remained free from those torments of conscience; holding that our Lord had freed him by his mercy".[1] From this time on the saving and caring for the souls of others became as much his duty as saving and caring for his own

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1. Appendix B (2)

soul. The persistence and tenacity with which he pursued the monastic life and the practice of asceticism with hour upon hour of fasting and prayer testify to the force of his Basque will and the influence of rigorous training. Loyola was yet to realize a new and undreamed-of experience, that peculiar source of power which comes from the relation of the divine, that immediate emotional consciousness of God which we call mystical. This last experience completes the transformation.

> "Once he went to a church which stood a little more than a mile from Manresa which was called, I think, St. Paul, and the road runs next to the river. And walking and saying his prayers, he sat down for a little with his face toward the river. And thus sitting, the eyes of his understanding began to open, and, without seeing any vision , he understood and knew many things - as well spiritual things as things of the faith and things in the realm of letters and that with a brightness of illustration so great that they seemed to him entirely new things. .... All that can be said is that he received a clarity in his understanding of such a sort that in all the years of his life .... collecting all help he had received from God and all he has known and joining them into one, it does not seem to him that he has gained as much from all these advantages as from that single illumination when he sat by the river." [1]

He arose from this experience a different man. The conflict with evil became so real that as he knelt before a cross on the roadside a vision very beautiful with many eyes which had appeared many times before reappeared. This time he recognized it as the devil and drove it from him with his pilgrim's staff. After this period at Manresa Loyola had so schooled himself in the practices of spirituality and so humbled himself before God that he was ready to take up the

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Cited P. 43, Confessions

second of his plans, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was now fully dedicated to the double purpose of his own salvation and that of others.

THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM

The trip to Jerusalem has but little bearing upon the thesis at hand. It is nevetheless significant in that it marks the turning point so far as Loyola and the Reformation of the Catholic Church is concerned; also the medieval character of his religion is reflected in his conduct while in Jerusalem. His medieval devotion to physical objects consecrated by association with religion caused him at the risk of great danger to himself and the price of his pen-knife to see the stone on the Mount of Olives from which our Lord ascended. Forgetting the exact position of the foot prints he violated the Turkish laws and returned without a guide to Golgothe. His scissors procured his readmission. Nothing mattered to Ignatius for he was more than rewarded when he received what he regarded as the Lord's approbation in a vision of Christ hovering near him as he returned from the garden. That he was refused the privilege of remaining in Jerusalem did not matter so long as it was ordered of the Pope. His complete submission to the Pope and to what he believed to be the will of God is significant as the turning point for Catholicism. The return to the continent meant that the battle ground would be quite different from that which he which he had anticipated. Since it was not the will of God

that he stay in Jerusalem and convert the Infidel he returned to Spain and began the course of study which he regarded as necessary to be able to help souls. No longer would he live apart from the world but in the world combatting evil and training others in the art of righteous warfare.

On his return from Jerusalem Loyola had come under the influence of humanism. His experience while tarrying about Venice and Rome brought him in direct contact with the results of the movement and created in him a natural repugnance to the Renaissance. Apparently he was passive toward the outward splendors of Rome for nowhere in his writings does he allude to them. His objection was based upon the spirit which animated it. He believed the spirit of intellectual curiousity to be an apostate, renegade spirit. He regarded the whole duty of man to lay in devotion and unquestioning obedience. For him to question was impious, yet he set himself to a program the spirit of which he disapproved. The strategy of the soldier was to know the tactics of his opponent. His purpose was to fit himself to be the leader of a small band of men, who would devote their whole lives to combating the pagan spirit of intellectual freedom by teaching and preaching the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Of the Reformation as a movement he knew scarcely anything. It did not concern him as a problem of any magnitude.

HIS EDUCATION

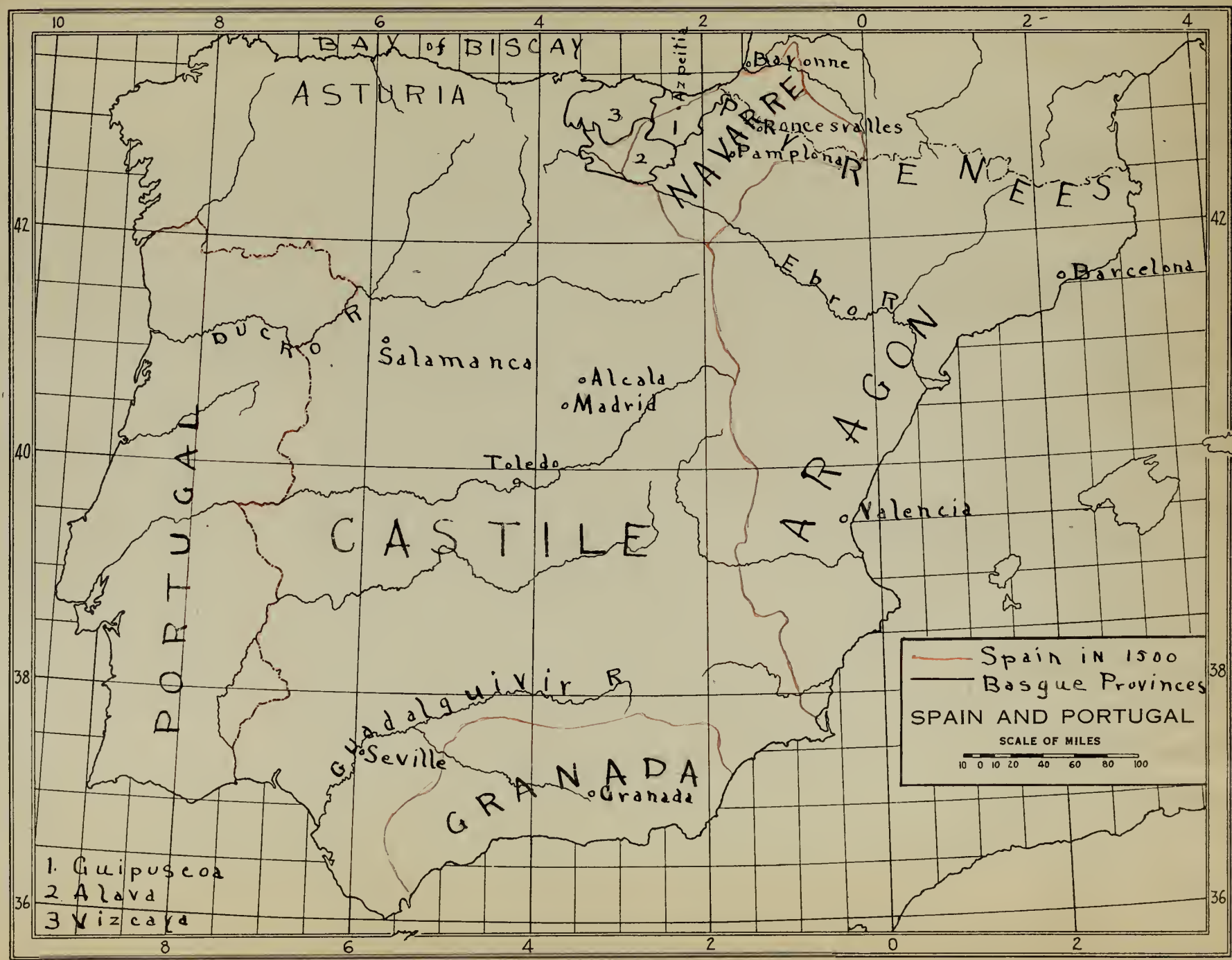
The fact that Ignatius considered an education other than the type which he already possessed essential to the accomplishment of his life's purpose shows unusual adaptability of his nature and almost antithetical elements of his character. His conversion showed the medieval trend of his mind in that all things spiritual took on a certain reality. The book of Spiritual Exercise which he had written at Monresa to meet his personal need of discipline shows a remarkable psychological insight. He was able to analyze and understand impulses, needs, habits, and aspirations which he felt and which the world of men felt. Logically it might be expected that all of his thinking would be bound by the medieval tradition and medieval ideas which were so much a part of him. At no time losing sight of his deep spiritual concepts he combined with them the rare power of seeing the needs of a distressed and evil world and brought the two together. His thinking habit was that of the seasoned soldier.- conservative but with no absolute fixity of ideas, and no prejudices so fast that they might not be broken. He was quick and ready to solve experiences. Though unlettered and unlearned he possessed a power of discernment and intellectual judgment equalled by few.

Endowed with an indomitable will to battle for Jesus and recognizing learning as his mightiest weapon he took up the task of acquiring the rudiments of Latin with the young boys in the school at Barcelona. The courage and

dogged perseverance of his Basque fathers served him well during these years at school. The lessons of humility begun as a page and perfected at Manresa made it possible for Ignatius, a man of thirty or more, to sit down with boys eight and nine years before their teacher. Barcelona served not only to school his mind but his spirit and body as well. Even the contemplation of spiritual things became a problem when they took his mind off his studies. To subdue the flesh he continued the monastic discipline with all the regularity and promptness of the soldier.

From Barcelona Ignatius went to Alcala de Henares where he took up philosophy at the University. As he studied here he carried forth his battle for souls. He gave spiritual exercises and explained Christian doctrine. Several young men attached themselves to him and with their assistance he was able to move many to the Christian life. The peculiar conduct of the more emotional and imaginative caused the attention of the Inquisitor of Spain to be centered upon Ignatius. Little is known of the progress of Ignatius' studies at Alcala but the period is worthy of note for the relation it bears to his work.

Ignatius in contrast with the prevailing method of the Catholic Church began his work by ministering to the lowest classes, building and purifying from the bottom up. He was essentially and by nature an evangelist as surely as Paul, Luther, or Wesley. Unlike Luther he saw no flaw nor fault in the Church and her doctrines. Purging and purification of the individual lives of members, particularly the



JOHNSTON SERIES OF DESK MAPS

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Spain in 1500

clergy, was her great need. So zealously did he put this into practice that he himself fell victim of the Inquisition and had to leave Alcala though no thought of heresy had ever entered his mind. How could a Basque who knew no greater dishonor than heresy be guilty of such an offense against the Church!

On leaving Alcala Ignatius and three student followers went to the University of Salamanca. Here the Inquision tightened on them. There was a Dominican convent at Salamanca. Being of an aggressive battling sort the monks were not satisfied with the light treatment which these supposed heretics had received at Alcala. They laid a snare for Ignatius but his boldness, simplicity, and shrewd knowledge of the men saved him from the dungeons of the Inquisition into which his lack of theology might have led him. L Loyola and his followers were in jail three weeks during the period of investigation. This experience did not lessen Loyola's devotion to his purpose. When asked how he got in prison and if he found it hard to be a prisoner he answered, "You show that you have no wish to be put in prison for the love of God. Does prison then seem to you so terrible? I tell you there are not in Salamanca so many fetters and chains as I desire to bear for the love of God!" His prison experience seemed only to intensify his desire to save souls and enlist others into the work of saving souls. To do this he followed the methodology of the soldier. The knight errant never lost sight of his goal. Each difficulty surmounted

spurred him on to greater conquests. His Basque practicality and his experience in soldiery taught him that careful preparation and rigid discipline were the basis of success. Feeling that things were locked against him at Salamanca he proceeded to the University of Paris. Apparently little was accomplished in the way of learning at Salamanca. Great disappointment awaited him in that his comrades soon deserted his ranks, one to become a monk, one to lead a life of luxury, another to accept a bishopric.

Recognizing certain inability to hold men to his purpose as he had been able to do in the army he applied himself more closely to his studies in the University and at the same time in spiritual exercises and the study of men. At Paris he met again the problem of over-indulgence in spiritual thoughts to the detriment of his studies. On the other hand he was careful not to let academic rules interfere with religious duties. He got himself into trouble soon enough by interfering with the practice of disputations on feast days by the students in arts. He influenced the students to go to the holy sacraments rather than to the disputations. This incident is significant as an illustration of Ignatius' persuasiveness in handling men and his complete forgetfulness of self in the care of souls. Just as he took no heed for personal safety in the maintenance of honor at Pamplona he lost himself in devotion to the Queen of Heaven and the salvation of souls.

Ignatius' psychological insight is illustrated

in the position he took regarding the method of saving souls. He said, "As the devil showed great skill in tempting men into perdition, equal skill ought to be shown in saving them. The devil studied the nature of each man, seized upon the traits of his soul, adjusted himself to them and insinuated himself gradually into the victim's self-confidence, suggesting splendors to the ambitious, gain to the covetous, delight to the sensuous and a false appearance of piety to the pious, and a master in saving souls ought to act in the same cautious and skilful way." [1] He not only approved of this method but put it into practice using all the strategy of a seasoned soldier.

Loyola spent about seven years in Paris. He entered about the time that John Calvin was forced to leave because of his connection with Nicholas Cop. Perhaps there was something of Calvin in the atmosphere of the University which stimulated Loyola but there is nothing to indicate that they ever met or that Calvin was even known to him. He learned from the University government the government and management of a corporation, from his professors he learned much of the technique of teaching, and out of his own experience he learned the value of proper balance between studies and spiritual duties. These things were of infinite value to him but are not to be compared with the personalities he gained as disciples to the cause he held so dear.

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 37

THE DISCIPLES OF LOYOLA

The first to join Ignatius at Paris was his roommate, Pierre Lefevre, the son of a pious Savoyard peasant farmer. Another was Francis Xavier, also his roommate and the youngest son of a Basque noble from French Navarre. At first Xavier laughed at the elderly Spanish student of mediocre ability and fanatical ideas regarding religion. In spite of this Ignatius commanded his respect and they finally became bound by a love such as that of David and Jonathan. Xavier was destined to become the first Jesuit missionary to India and the best beloved of the Jesuit fathers. So great was his accomplishment among the heathen that Loyola was richly repaid many times over for the three long years spent in gentle patient persuasion before winning the young Xavier to an ideal of poverty and humble service.

Two others of the little company of friends were Diego Lainez and Alfonso Salmeron. Lainez was a new Christian, that is, his grandfather had been a Jew. In the eyes of Spaniards this was a mark of inferiority. Ignatius as a soldier no doubt felt this same prejudice but had conquered it in his anxiety for souls. Lainez was the ablest intellectually of the friends; next to him was Alfonso Salmeron, a student of Latin and Greek. Lainez and Salmeron were destined to be the theologians of the Company of Jesus and the dominating forces in the Council of Trent. Nicholas Alfonso of Bobidilla, a student of the New Learning likewise proved a valuable asset.

Added to this group were Simon Rodriquez, a noble Portuguese, Codure, Claude Jay who became a preacher and professor of theology of the University of Ingolstadt, and Broet, a faithful member who served in Scotland, Italy and France in various capacities for twenty-seven years. This little group consisted of five Spaniards and one Portuguese, two Savoyards and two Frenchmen; it was international in its inception. Rodriquez proved to be the only unwise choice on the part of Loyola, for psychologically speaking it was the persuasion and the dominent personality of Ignatius that determined their choice in their life's purpose.

THE BIRTH OF THE JESUIT ORDER AT MONMARTRE

Together the first seven disciples went in August 1534 to a little church called Notre Dam de Montmartre just outside of Paris. While they kneeled around the altar, Lefevre, the only priest among them, said mass. Then each in turn took a vow, the exact words of which are not known, and communed. Thus the little company which was to grow into the Company of Jesus came into being. They pledged themselves to take the vow of chastity, and of poverty, and to devote themselves to the saving of souls. Their first plan was to go after they had finished their theological studies to the Holy Land but if prevented they would offer their services to the Pope. Thus Ignatius saw his hopes and aspirations taking definite shape. It was no sudden resolution, no flare up of religious zeal, no spurt of unstable emotion,

but the deliberate and sanely worked out purpose of a man who had humbled himself before God. Careful thought and long hours of prayer were spent in laying the foundation and choosing the young men who were to carry the banner of God into the world and defend Our Lady's honor. Unlike his earlier companions in Spain (Calixto, Juanico, and Caveres) these men had tried the life they were about to take up and found it good, found contentment and peace in the contemplation of its fulfillment.

ROME

Wars and the political situation made an immediate trip to Jerusalem inexpedient. The little group tarried around for more than a year doing good wherever they went. Partly due to ill health and partly because of business Loyola went back to Spain and to Azpeitia in 1535. He agreed to meet his companions in Venice in the early part of 1537 and proceed with them to Rome to present their plan to the Pope. Loyola preceeded them but finally all gathered in Venice January 6, 1537. This first trip to Rome was for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope permission to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and also a license for the ordination as priests those who were not already ordained. Much to their surprise they were well received by the Pope. He put them to the test by a discussion on a point of theology. Paul III. was so satisfied with the results that he granted them permission to make the pilgrimage, headed a subscription

for them, and gave them license to take priest's orders without obligation of a benefice. The outlook was most auspicious but war with the Turks made it impossible to get passage to Jerusalem. After waiting until the year had expired, as they had pledged themselves, they returned to Rome to offer their services to the Pope and the Church. They had been by no means idle during the year that had elapsed; they had separated into four groups and had carried on an extensive evangelisticprogram, preaching, and attending the sick.

The return to Rome was regarded by Loyola as the most important episode in his life. After being ordained he decided to wait a year before celebrating his first mass. This was a year of intense spiritual preparation. He spent much time in prayer. On the way to Rome mass was said daily and Loyola partook of the eucharist as a communicant and prayed without ceasing to Mary, Mother of Jesus, that she might place him near her Son and that he might receive divine favor. On this journey he had the most celebrated of his visions.

The vision and circumstances surrounding it are of such importance as to warrant quotation from Lainez.

> "When we were going to Rome by the road through Siena, the Father had many spiritual sentiments; especially in relation to the Eucharist. Lefevre and I said mass every day. He did not, but he communicated. Then he said to me that it seemed to him that God impressed on his heart these words:'I will be propitious to you at Rome', and our Father, not knowing what these words might mean, said: 'I do not know what will become of us at Rome, perhaps we shall be crucified'. Then another time he said that he seemed to see Christ with the cross on his shoulder and the

> Eternal Father near by, who said: 'I wish you to take this man for your servant'and so Jesus took him and said: 'I will that thou shouldst serve me'."[1]

This assurance came at a critical time in the life of Loyola. There had been long years of patient toil during the days at school, there had been deep heart wounds when comrades turned away, and lately he had been denied the ministry at Jerusalem. He had suffered no lack of trust and faith in God but the psychological effect of such assurance was stimulating both to himself and his followers. He had some forebodings of opposition when he said that he saw the windows closed at Rome.

When they got to Rome they found that in spite of the promise of divine support that "the windows did have the shutters up." Entering Rome these comrades spent much time preaching and in charitable offices. The Pope maintained a favorable attitude toward them and employed two of them as teachers. Their greatest impression however was made by their practical deeds of Christian charity - sheltering the poor and caring for the sick. Their aim was to serve sincerely wherever the Pope might call them. Loyola was unconscious of any ulterior motive of founding an order. He was moving as the voice of God in his soul directed him and he followed step by step the leadings of Christ as they were revealed to him. Lainez wrote, "When we were at Paris our intention was not to found an order, but to pass in poverty a life dedicated to helping our neighbors by preaching and serving in hospitals and to go to Jerusalem to help ourselves

1. Cited by Van Dyke, Ignatius Loyola, P. 120

and others, the faithful and the infidel." [1] They had through the courage and frankness of Loyola come through eight attacks made upon them by the Inquisition, and won the favor of the Pope and the confidence of the people of Rome. Not being able to go to Jerusalem they had to plan some other line of action.

As a result of careful discussion and reflection Ignatius and his comrades decided, first, to found a company which would not end with their lives, second, to call it the Company of Jesus, third, to elect their leader and make to him the vow of obedience. The outline of their plan [2] to be presented to the Pope was made under five heads: (1) "He (member) must always have God before his eyes and strive with all his might towards the goal shown him by God, ... (2) We are bound by special oath to do whatever he (the Pope) orders us to do, ... (3) Every member shall promise obedience to the general in all things concerning the rule, (4) We cannot hold any legal right to any income or real property, ... (5) All ordained members are to say breviary according to the rites of the Church .... They shall not use in divine service either organ or chanting." Ignatius sent this plan to his influential friend Contarini, later an important figure at the Council of Trent, to present it to the Pope. The document became the center of much serious comment and controversy among Contarini, Cardinal Ghinucci, papal secretary, and Guidiccioni, who favored its content but believed

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 133
2. Appendix C

believed that no new orders should be formed, and that existing orders be reduced to four: Dominicans, Franciscans, Cistercians, and Black Benedictines. Ignatius considered that the blocking of so righteous a proposition by "a good and pious man" was a strategem of the devil. He undertook with success to overcome Cardinal Guidiccini's opposition with prayers.[1] Finally by this means and other skilful use of influential friends he gained the Pope's approval. September 27, 1540, Pope Paul III. issued a bull for the foundation of the Company of Jesus based on the five capitoli.

While Ignatius had no preconceived plan for an order back in the days at Manresa, nor at Paris and Venice, he was thoroughly conscious of being its founder. A letter which he wrote to his nephew, the Lord of Loyola, testifies to this. The order was undoubtedly the child of Ignatius. Every one of the first fathers had been trained in the Spiritual Exercises which was, so to speak, the distillation of Ignatius' life and religious experience. Contrary to his consciousness of the fatherhood of the order for a long time he refused the generalship. He did not refuse on the ground of monastic convention as some prefer to believe, for he had discarded asceticism, the monkish dress, and chanting, the most conventional of medieval and monkish conventions. Instead he had legitimate reason for refusing. He was in ill health and did not expect to live long. Others of the number had greater learning and facility of expression. He also feared

bringing opposition upon the company for he had been attacked eight times for heresy and unchristian conduct.

PART III.

RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT

THE JESUIT ORDER AN OUTGROWTH OF THE NEED OF THE TIME

The Company of Jesus was but an outgrowth of the necessity of the time. A glance at the situation will suffice to prove that there was dire need of reform in the Church. In politics there was much treachery, strife, and bargaining for power. The rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V. for the Emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire was keen. The papacy became unwisely and disgracefully involved in this bid for temporal power and the creation of civil States of the Church. Luxurious and intemperate living and the practice of nepotism which had reached its height in the Borgias had thoroughly demoralized the papacy. After the devestating reign of Alexander VI. there was an open recognition of the need of reform. Some idea of conditions may be gained from the following extract of a sermon preached at Rome before the Council of the Lateran in 1516:

> "If we examine the writings of the fathers and the canons of the Church, do we not find that they tell us to suspend or depose from priestly orders every flattering and impious priest, every betrayer of his neighbor, every evil speaker, or those who slyly lead their brethern into wickedness, every seditious troubler of peace, the ambitious who sacreligiously usurp sacred dignities, the envious, the adulterous, the villainous perpetrators of other obscenities, those who are given to cruelty and at the same time revengeful of their own injuries, gamblers, accursed searchers for filthy lucre? Do we not, I say, find that inviolable degrees of ancient canons tell us to suspend or depose this sort of priest? But I ask you, if the benignity of Mother Church did not relax the severity of ancient canons how could such priests exist as they do?" [1]

1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 161

In 1535, the year that Ignatius arrived at Rome, a commission made a recommendation to the Pope relative to the condition of the Church and the need of reform. The commission placed the blame on the fact that "some Popes, thy predecessors with prurient ears assembled doctors of theology not in order to learn from them what they ought to do, but so that they might by cleverness discover reasons for doing what they wanted to do". [1] They enumerated the chief abuses: [2] (1) "abuse in ordination of the clergy and especially of parish priests to which no attention of given not is any care exercised in choosing them; (2) "the distribution of church benefices which are given for personal reasons and not for the good of the flock of Christ"; (3) the correction of abuses in religious orders (a) by abolishing all conventional orders by forbidding the admission of novices, (b) forbidding convents to be under monasteries, (c) stopping the teaching of impiety in the schools. Thus it may be seen that the blame was laid unquestionably at the door of the papacy. This shows that there was a rather general recognition of a need of reform even before Loyola gave it definite form and created an active agent to effect it. Mr. Paul Van Dyke cites a Catholic writer, Venturi, who sums up the situation thus: " The condition of religion in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century was in the highest degree wretched. The clergy in all its grades afflicted, in some

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 162

2. Ibid. P. 162-163

parts more, in some less, by inveterate evils very hard to cure: the people left at the mercy of their two domestic enemies, ignorance and license." [1]

The conditions in Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century were similar but somewhat less evil. Spain suffered "frightful corruption of manners" but possessed a beautiful fixity of mind in the faith, and steadfastness of character. There were scandals among the clergy from the top down: Caesar Borgia, the first Cardinal of Pamplona, lived in such a way that the best thing he could so for his diocese was to keep away from it. [2] Ignatius' own brother, priest of Azpeitia, acknowledged openly his illegitimate children. The famous Bishop of Zamorra, who was hanged about the time of Loyola's conversion had led three hundred clergymen of his diocese in civil wars, and assassinated numerous prisoners. Ignatius though fully aware of conditions in Spain as well as in Italy and France was nevertheless wholly international in his ideal. His national patriotism was swallowed up in the greater passion for God and His Church. His allegiance was no longer to the Queen of Spain but to the Queen of Heaven. The Company of Jesus was as truly born out of the inner conflict of the soul of the man. Reform was needed everywhere; Ignatius was the genius whose task it was to accomplish it.

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 167

2. Ibid. P. 168

ORGANIZATION

The organization of the Order and the methodology employed by Loyola show the influence of his early military training. No words could have a truer military ring than these, "whoever wishes to be a warrior of God under the banner of the cross in our Company", which are to be found in the introduction to the outlined plan presented to the Pope. The Constitution of the Order also shows the influence of his Spanish military training. Ignatius appreciated the fact that great confidence in success on the part of the commander is a large element in the morale of a military company, on the other hand unity of purpose and action is essential to the accomplishment of the object of the company. To him obedience and complete subordination was the core of unity. In the Constitution [1] which consists of ten parts he emphasizes the importance of careful selection of members and the particular care of the novitiate. Obedience is the foundation stone of the whole structure.

Before considering the Constitution at greater length it is well to notice Ignatius' ideas concerning obedience in order to appreciate the important place which he gives it in the organization. Monks of all orders took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Ignatius because his company remained in the world and did not wear any distinctive dress nor practice fastings and mortifications desired that they be exemplary in their obedience. A few sentences

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1. Appendix D

from his famous letter, "On the Obedience of Virtue" will suggest his attitude and the importance which he attached to it.

> "Our salvation was wrought by Him who became obedient unto death." "I could wish .... that you .... should be conspicuous indeed in true and perfect obedience and abnegation of will and especially of judgment, ... never look upon the person (obeyed). Even if the superior be ornamented and furnished with prudence, goodness, and whatever other gifts, he is not to obey on account of these things but solely because he is God's viceregent."

In another letter he says:

> "Certainly, since obedience is a sacrifice in which the man, without any division of himself, offers his entire being in the fire of love to his Creator by the hand of His ministers .... it cannot be said that obedience comprises only doing what is commanded or contentment of the will in doing it. Obedience also includes the judgment; thinking what the superior orders so far (....) as the mind can be inclined by the will .... ." [1]

He sums up his position in three rules or principles of obedience: first, do not look on the superior as on a man subject to errors and miseries, but look at what you obey in the man; second, always be ready to look for reasons to defend what a superior orders, and not disproving it; third, assume that the order is in accord with God's will, and begin with enthusiasm to obey it.

Returning to the Constitution it is discovered that these principles have been incorporated in Part III. - "concerning what shall be done in the care, keeping, and advancement of the novices". In Part IV. - "On those who a are admitted and received into the body of the Society" -

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 226

an entire chapter is devoted to "what appertains to obedience". Here he states in no uncertain terms what he means by obedience - "Obedience in execution consists in doing what is ordered; obedience to will, in having no other will than his from whom we receive theorder; obedience in understanding, in thinking as the Superior thinks, and in believing what he ordains is rightly ordained." [1] Thus it is seen that the principle of obedience is applied with military exactitude to the training and the living of the soldiers of the cross. Substitute the flag for the cross, country for church, the military general and marshalls for Loyola and his followers, honor for grace, and the restraint in either case is much the same. The Loyola who pledged himself the knight errant of the Queen of Heaven was as militaristic in the methodology and strategy with which he planned his spiritual campaign, as he had been in his knightly service to the Queen of Spain.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

As a basis for training in the Order Ignatius used the Spiritual Exercises, a set of rules and counsels for religious practices which he had produced outoof his own need and experiences. These exercises are the fruits of physical suffering and keen spiritual battles within his own soul. "The section about choices he had drawn from the conflicts of spirits and thoughts which he went through

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1. Sedgwick, H. D., Ignatius Loyola, P. 221

in the Castle of Loyola when he was suffering with his leg."[1] Concerning these choices he said, "In order to choose anything well, it is our duty, with a pure and single eye to consider for what purpose we were created , namely, for the praise of God, and our own salvation."[2] The exercises evolved as he felt the demand for definite system and routine in his spiritual growth. The conflict with him was so real that he made the second week "a contemplation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ from the likeness of an earthly king calling out his subjects to war."[3] The fourth day was "a meditation concerning two standards: one that of Jesus Christ, our most excellent General; the other that of Lucifer the most capital enemny of men."[4] While the idea of a body of rules is not original with Ignatius these citations are sufficient to indicate that the Spiritual Exercises grew out of a real personal need and took the form of the rigorous discipline of which he was accustomed as a soldier. Psychologically it is consistent that he should think of intensely spiritual things in terms of the training to which he had been subjected for so many years, and that he should react to his new object of allegiance and devotion in the same way that he had to allegiance to Spain. That he should conceive of the forces of good and evil in battle array is quite natural in as much as Spain's wars with the Moors and with the Mohammedans were

1. Cited Van Dyke, Ignatius Loyola, P. 269
2. Spiritual Exercises of Saint Loyola, P. 73
3. Ibid. P. 46
4. Ibid. P. 62

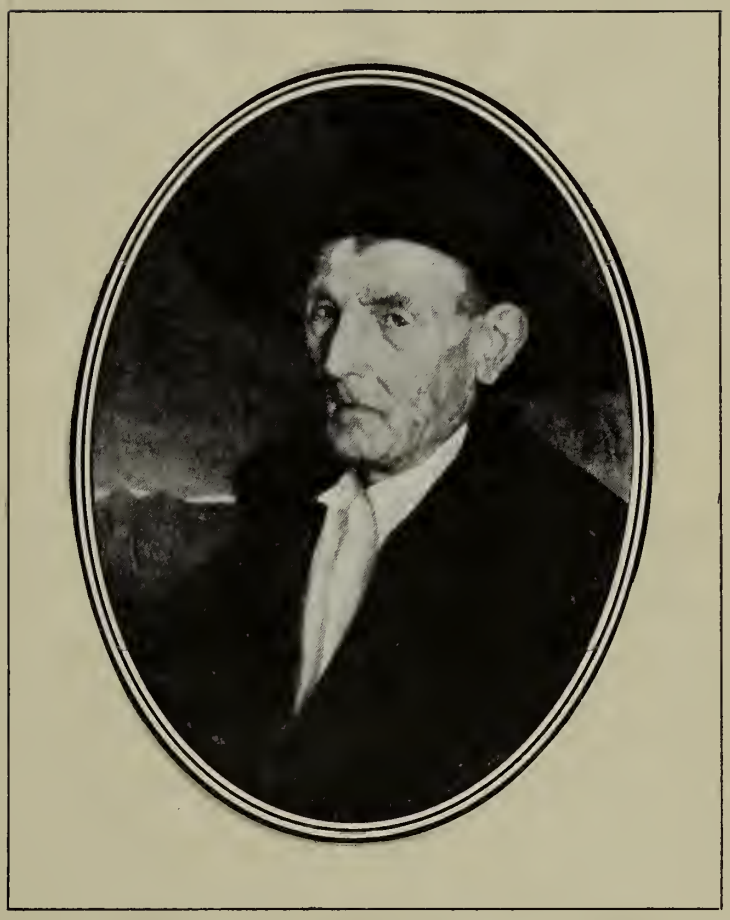
thought of in the Spanish mind as wars of Christians against Infidels.

Conscious of great personal benefit derived from these Spiritual Exercises Loyola perfected them that others might grow in spiritual power and grace. He confided the exercises to his friends and the bonds thus formed through mutual interest and activity held them with but few exceptions through the remaining years of their lives. Ignatius never intended the Spiritual Exercises to be an ordinary hand book of devotion but rather a manual of guidance for those directing the spiritual lives of others. With the creation of the Company of Jesus the Spiritual Exercises became the order of discipline for members. The results of the powerful psychical efforts involved were inescapable. The psychological force of the mediation about hell was tremendous. It seared upon the soul a hatred of sin by terror. The reality of hell was fundamental to Ignatius' thinking and extremely active in his teaching and living. He rose above the fear of hell and of the devils whom he believed were trying from birth to death to drag men into it; his life rested in a trustful love of God. This conception of an eternal battle of the universe remained in his mind and the minds of his followers poignant and effective upon conduct. Ignatius' characteristic subordination to authority and his conscientious attitude toward both the inspired church and all lawful authority is evident in the thirteenth of the "Rules for Thinking truly

and as we ought in the Militant Church". [1] It is the famous "white is black" principle which has been the occasion for so much criticism.

It must be remembered that the time was one of great tribulation and corruption within the Church which logically should have been the spiritual leader and unspoiled by civil strifes. The "black and white" principle together with the principle of the "end justifies the means" can be regarded fairly only when they are regarded historically. Human experience bears out the fact of practical ethics subordinated to absolute ethics, the sacrifice of lower ideals for the sake of higher ideals. Patriotic training especially in times of war puts into practice the very thing which becomes the subject of bitter criticism in another field. Unideal as it may be it is historically true. Ignatius, a soldier of a country with a nationalistic ideal and principle which worked, applied it to what he regarded as a higher loyalty. Possessing the mind and viewpoint of a Spanish soldier unquestioned submission and obedience to authority centered in Christ's Vicar on Earth was as legitimate as unquestioned loyalty to the temporal king.

Whether Loyola's principles are accepted "in toto" or not it must be agreed that the great underlying principle is most admirable. Man's whole office is to do God's will, and he cannot do this unless he becomes a tool in God's hands, and he cannot do that unless he is willing to renounce self and strive to live as Jesus did. The Spiritual Exercises were wrought out of deep personal experience and dedicated



"A BASQUE COUNTRYMAN," By Valentin de Zubiaurre

to help men conquer the flesh and see with undimmed sight the eternal values, to defend the honor of the mother of Jesus and carry the banner of God, the Father, to victory. The moral laxity and worldliness among clergy at the same time made strict discipline imperative. The Church Militant must have only those who were willing to renounce self and dedicate all to the service and glory of God in order to save herself from imminent destruction. The rigorous demands of the Spiritual Exercises sifted out the weak and luxury loving, retaining only the fine, sensitive, and noble characters who were destined to rebuild the Catholic Church and remold her theology.

THE PERSONALITY OF LOYOLA

The medieval character of Loyola's personality is so evident that it seems almost superfluous to again call attention to it. The Spiritual Exercises were nothing more than a soldier's methodology for becoming skilled and proficient in the art of spiritual warfare. The spirit of the Crusades pervaded all that he did, and he displayed the intensity of his Spanish character in that he was never satisfied with half-measures. His dismissal of members who were unable to measure up to the rigorous standards of the order and his requiring of penance for the tossing about of an orange lest others follow the example and swerve from the straight course illustrate the detail and exactitude with which he commanded obedience. However his gentleness and patience were unlimited when he saw the need for it as in the case of Rodriquez. His

only resources when at thirty he began his religious career were his native Basque and Spanish languages, the science, strategy, and tactics of war, and the meager literary background of the narratives of knight errantry and the lives of medieval saints. There were the survivals of social selection and were the normal heritage of Spanish life. Morally excluded from his former career he used what tools he had adapting them to his new life. Loyola was instinctively a soldier therefore the Spiritual Exercises are wholly militaristic in tone and principle. The posture and attitudes to be maintained during prayer, the technique for exact regulation, and absolute submission to the leader are of military origin. The cunning of a diplomat and the shrewdness of a Spanish general are evident in "let the entrance be what it may the exit must be ours."

THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIEVAL IDEALS

The religious atmosphere in which Loyola grew and the influence of his early religious training are seen in his religious attitudes. This is especially noticeable in his complete and unquestioned acceptance of the unity of Church and State. The Basques so far as is known have been Catholic ever since Rome penetrated the mountain fastness of the Pyrenees. All through the Infidel Wars and the Crusades down to Loyola's own day war was carried on in the name of the Church. Chivalry had been instituted to humanize and dull the cruel sword of war but the Church as yet had no conscience with regard to the right and wrong of warfare. The Catholic King

under whom Loyola had served had unified Spain through the Church by making but one loyalty serve both Church and State. The division of the new world between Spain and Portugal showed that the Church was at the head of the temporal as well as the spiritual world. Patriotism meant loyalty to both Church and State.

Loyola, due to family position and his relation to the State through the army, was cognizant of these facts. When he transferred his allegiance and affection from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of Heaven he did not destroy his national loyalty but expanded it into an international loyalty. For him Church and State were inseparably one. To be a heretic was to be an anarchist. Spain was so thoroughly Catholic that unlike Luther Loyola did not feel the pull of nationalism. At no time was he forced into fanatical nationalism therefore he passes from Spanish nationalism to Catholic internationalism totally ignorant of problems such as Calvin and Luther experienced.

The nationalistic ideal was so intimate a part of him that it carried over in a universal sense of reality in the Jesuit vow. The "promise to Almighty God", the ruler and "the Pope His Vicar on earth", "the whole celestial court", and the company are easily analogous to the prevailing type of government and military organization. The educational plan of the Order was strictly military with its general in Rome, Provincial, Superiors, Rectors, Deans, and Professors. Loyola directed his entire organization, educational and preaching, through a system of letters which is indicative of the strength of his personality.

HIS IDEALS AND CHARACTER

This force of personality was due largely to the retention of a high and holy ideal - the saving of souls and a willingness to work unceasingly. He combined with the acceptance of a peculiar reliance upon the Unseen Spirit an inexhaustible energy, and capacity for work. The natural strength and endurance of his people would have carried him far beyond his followers had he not consciously subdued his flesh. He received great strength from communion with the Unseen and therefore attached great significance to physical things - he felt Christ's appearance to him after having returned to the Mount of Olives to note the direction of the foot prints on the rock was a sign of approbation. This devotion to physical objects, consecrated by religious associations is derived from beliefs in magic and fetiches. The Basques were a superstitious people living amidst impassible mountains and a boundless sea where it would be easy to form religious associations with nature. The medieval mind required the concrete revelation of God. St. Augustine, St. Francis, Joan d' Arc all heard voices. So when Loyola had all the brothers meet in the refrectory immediately after dinner and the roof over a section of the garden where they were accustomed to sitting after dinner fell in, it was nothing less than the approbation of God because they all had obeyed orders.

Ignatius was naive in his application of psychological principles to holding and teaching his followers, Consciously and as frequently unconsciously he guided and led

them and molded them to his pattern of spiritual life. Such tact, such sternness, such kindness, such tolerance, all at once in a naturally conservative nature is almost inconceivable. It is Ignatius.

Francis Xavier is the best testimony to the power of personality and the effectiveness of Loyola's method of endearing himself and his great purpose to his followers, someone has written

> "Very many and very great
> Are of Xavier the miracles;
> But one miracle of Ignatius
> Is the greatest: namely, Xavier." [1]

BASQUE PRACTICALITY VERSUS MYSTICISM

Perhaps the most distinctive feature about Loyola's character is that he was both practical and mystical. Something of the Basque will to accomplish through activity, that same spirit which kept them an unconquered people during the Roman occupancy of Spain and enabled them to dare to stand out against the mighty Charlemagne, is sensed in even his most mystical experiences. The mystical trance for him meant more than an illumination and the unity of his own soul with God, it was a challenge to his soul to carry others through activity and spiritual discipline to like experience. This is not necessarily peculiar to Loyola for western mysticism is a record of supreme activity - they were not only "wrestlers in the spirit" but great organizers as well. But in Loyola activity is

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1. Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 266

present in an exceptionally practical form. The ground was prepared by contact with the piety of the Brethren of the Common Life through Ludolf, the Saxon's Life of Christ. From the Lives of the Saints he absorbed the spirit of Saint Francis but substituted a definite practical ideal of life in the world for Saint Francis' more impractical life out of the world. With this mystical quality of Saint Francis he combined all the keeness, subtlity, and driving power of Saint Dominic. He possessed a tremendous loyalty to the Church, and at the same time to the Unseen, the Immaterial.

Ignatius pursued the three-fold way of the mystical life. Mauresa was undoubtedly a period of rigid and rigorous purgation. The cave at Mauresa saw the complete mortification of the body. The lower center; characterized in Ignatius by personal pride, a choloric temperament, the lu lusts and desires of the flesh, was killed in order that the higher center might live and grow, "And so, from that hour (the vision of our Lady with the Holy Child Jesus) he never again felt the least assenting to any lustful impulse". [1] Ignatius was likewise an experient of the illuminative way. "On many occasions and for a long time when in prayer he saw with the interior eyes the humility of of Christ and the figure which appeared to him was like a white body,neither very big nor very small, but he could not see any distinction of members. .... He also saw Our

1. Cited - Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 32

Lady in a similar form without distinguishing the parts of her body."[1] His faith was thus so confirmed that he said, had he never read the Scriptures, "he would determine to die for them solely because of what he had seen". At this stage Ignatius felt fully convinced that the whole purpose of life was the glory of God and the salvation of his own soul. Not until the vision of Christ at Jerusalem did he regard the saving and caring for the souls of others an essential part of his work. After this he enjoyed the third and final stage of mystical life, that experience of unity with God.

The saving of the souls of others necessitated a practical application of his spiritual experience. This took form in the Spiritual Exercises. By active participation in regulated routine of spiritual duties and discipline the subject became aware finally of his relation to God. Through a system of good sense and of action Loyola arrived at a practical spirituality. This is not adverse to true mysticism but is a more positive way by helping the world to reach the highest sanctity by renunciations and a spirit of humility. The Exercises follow the mode of mystical development. The "First Week" is devoted to purgation - meditations on sin, death, and hell with constant self-examinations. The "Second" and "Third Week" deal with the Illuminative Way though not in the manner common to mystics, and the "Fourth Week" leads to the Unitive Way, that is through a contemplation of God, and a desire for eternity

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1. Cited - Van Dyke, Paul, Ignatius Loyola, P. 43

stimulated by the Resurrection of Christ. Ignatius was thoroughly mystical but neither the practical nor the humanistic side of his life to say nothing of the nature of his life's work would have permitted him to live a hermit's life, or to remain engrossed in contemplation regardless of the world. The spirit of the soldier, and of the Crusader, as well as the spirit of the mystic breathes in:

> "The first point is to set before me a human king, chosen by the hand of God our Lord, whom all princes and Christian men reverence and obey. The second, to see how this king speaks to all his people, saying: My will is to conquer the whole country of the unbelievers; wherefore whosoever would come with me must be content to eat as I eat, and to drink and clothe himself as I do likewise. Even so must he work as I do by day, and watch by night; to the end that he may afterwards share the victory with me, as he has shared in my labours." [1]

Loyola's conception of the mystic life was that of an active life in the world.

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1. Spiritual Exercises, cited - Peers, Spanish Mystics P.29

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

The whole personality of Ignatius Loyola reflects the ruggedness of the Pyrenees and a certain free conservatism so characteristically Basque. Free in that he was not afraid to depart from the beaten paths, not afraid to lay aside the monastic garb, to forego fastings and flagellations and the ascetic practices so intimately a part of monasticism. Conservative in that he harked back to the crucifix, the distinguishing mark of Catholicism, as the center of spiritual devotion. When he started out he had not even the remotest idea of what history calls the Counter-Reformation, or properly the Catholic Reformation. His sole aim was to win souls for Christ in the conflict with the devil in a world of sin, to this end he used whatever avenues were open to him. The need of the time carried him into a reformation of the Church; circumstances and not Loyola carried the movement into a counter-defense against Protestantism.

Ignatius Loyola was indeed a product of his environment. His whole temperament reflects the influence of environment upon his race. His indomitable will and tenacity of purpose are the results of the race's combat with physical forces, with mountains and sea. The protecting shelter from foes of these same mountains fostered regard for and adoration of the Great Unseen.

Likewise social environment placed its stamp upon him. Never once in his religious experience did he doubt the tenets

of his Catholic faith nor the superiority of the Church. So strong was the influence of the environment of his youth that when he came in contact with the New Learning in Italy he saw it only as a means of combating the very evil it had itself helped to create. He remained untouched and unspoiled by any desire for luxury, art, and learning for beauty and learning's sake. This new environment forced him who had been steeped in the ideals of chivalry into a reactionary position. For him reformation meant purification and reformation of individual souls. His character had been safely molded by the traditions and customs of his people, and his training toward the highest and best in Spanish life. The character of Loyola's whole life and his close adherence to the principles of his early training speak volumes of praise to the race from which he came.

Ignatius Loyola was the genius of his age and one of the few men the world has known who have gone beyond the social thought of the time and looked with the insight of the seer into the future and builded a structure to withstand the devestation of the years. The spirit of Loyola dominated the whole Jesuit proposition, it extended its influence through Lainez and Salmeron to the Council of Trent thus affecting the doctrines of the Church and determining the theology of the present Catholic Church. Although he lived in the vicinity of Rome for eighteen years, leaving only once or twice in that time, his influence was felt throughout the world. Ignatius Loyola stands as one of the few men of history who have seen their desires and very life take concrete

form. The vital, active, powerful spirit of the gentle little man who is described as a typical Basque originally with a well-built muscular body, a keen almost haughty expression of the eyes, and with every muscle and nerve charged with activity, spread for more than a hundred and fifty years until it reached the uttermost parts of the earth.

APPENDIX

and

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX A

(1) Education under Chivalry from Chivalry - F. Warre Cornish

1-7 years In charge of mothers

8 to 18 or 20 years Sent to nobleman or churchman to receive knightly training. Did personal service symbolical of the obligation to serve in war, and learned courtesy.

1. Page or henchman
    a. Waited at table
    b. Education
        (1) Taught to read, write, to play harp and sing; ladies taught them games, and manners and rudiments of gallantry,
        (2) Memorization of poetry, grammar, history, heraldry.
        (3) Exercise - wrestling, boxing, running, tilting, riding.
2. Squire
    a. Supervise page's exercises
    b. Carried and served wine at dinner to lords.
    c. Made beds of lords
    d. Helped lords to dress
    e. Responsible for horses and armour of lord
    f. In battle fought beside knight
    g. waited on ladies of castle
3. Knighthood - acquired through feat and by a fee

Gautier, Leon, Chivalry, Translated by Henry Firth, New York, George Routledge & Sons, 1891

P. 2 "Chivalry is the Christian form of the military profession; the knight is the Christian soldier."

P.15 "The feudal system became hereditary. Chivalry has never been hereditary, and a special rite has always been necessary to create a knight. .... Chivalry is nothing more than the Christianized form of military service, the armed force in the service of the unarmed truth."

Chivalry of German origin, handed down by Franks.

P.18 "Church - education of Christian soldier - Chivalry."

P.23 1. The law was the decalogue, the ten commandments of chivalry.

2. Object was to enlarge the Kingdom of God on earth.

(2) Decalogue of Chivalry

Chivalry, Gautier, Leon, Translated by Henry Firth

I. Thou shall believe all that the church teaches, and shalt observe all its directions.

II. Thou shalt defend the church.

III. Thou shalt respect all weaknesses and shalt constitute thyself the defender of them.

IV. Thou shalt love the country in which thou wast born.

V. Thou shalt not recoil from thine enemy.

VI. Thou shalt make war against the Infidel without cessation and without mercy.

VII. Thou shalt perform scrupulously thy feudal duties if they be not contrary to the laws of God.

VIII. Thou shalt never lie, and shalt remain faithful to thy pledged word.

IX. Thou shalt be generous, and give largesse to everyone.

X. Thou shalt be everywhere and always the champion of the right and the good against injustice and evil.

APPENDIX B

Selections from the Confessions after Van Dyke, Ignatius Loyola.

(1) "He continues in the Confessions to describe the awakening of his soul .... 'And having gained no little light from that reading, he commenced to think more truly about his past life and the great necessity he was under to do penance for it. And here there arose again in his mind a desire to imitate the saints and to promise to do by the grace of God what they had done. But all that he definitely desired to do, as soon as he was well, was to go to Jerusalem with such self-discipline and abstinence as a generous soul inflamed with God is wont to desire to carry out. So he was gradually forgetting those past thoughts because of these holy desires which were taking possession of him; which were strengthened by a visitation of this sort: lying awake one night, he saw clearly the image of Our Lady with the Holy Child Jesus; in which sight he had for a considerable time very great comfort and it left him with such loathing for all his past life, especially for his carnal indulgences, that he seemed to be entirely freed from all evil pictures which had before been in his soul. And so, from that hour (1521) until August 1555, when this is written, he never again felt the least assenting to any lustful impulse. And by that result it may be concluded that the thing was of God: although he did not dare to so decide and does not now desire to do more than affirm the above facts. But his brother also, and the whole household, recognized in his conduct the change which had taken

place in his heart. He persevered in his reading and in his good intentions, and whenever he talked with those of the household, he spent the whole time on things of God by which he might do good to their souls. And taking much pleasure in those books, the thought came to him of setting down briefly the things most essential in the life of Christ and the saints. So he set himself to write a book with great diligence (for he was now able to move about the house), putting the words of Christ in red ink, those of Our Lady in blue, and the paper was glazed and ruled, and the letters were well formed because he was a very good writer. (3) Part of his time he spent in writing and part in prayer. And the greatest consolation he had was in looking at the heavens and the stars, which he did very often for a long time, because when he did he felt in himself a very great power to serve Our Lord.'" P. 31

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(2) "It seemed to him then that holiness was entirely measured by exterior asperity of life and that he who did the most severe penances would be held in the divine regard for the most holy, which idea made him determine to lead a very harsh life. In such thoughts he found all his consolation, not considering anything interior, nor knowing what humility nor charity, nor patience, nor discretion, in ruling and measuring these virtues, were; but all his purpose was to do those great outward works, because the saints had done them for the glory of God."

And arriving at a big town before he got to Montserrat,

he wanted to lay there the clothing which he had determined to wear to Jerusalem, and so he bought cloth of the sort that they used in making sacks, of a kind which is very prickly and ordered a garment made of it reaching to his feet. And he bought a staff and a gourd for water and tied them to the bow of the mule's saddle. And he bought also some straw sandals, of which he only used one and that not for appearance but because one leg was still bandaged and in somewhat bad condition, so much so that although he rode, he found it swollen every night. So he thought it necessary to wear a shoe on that foot. And he took up his journey for Montserrat thinking, as was his wont, about the deeds he had to do for the love of God. And as his mind was filled with ideas from Amadis of Gaul and other books of chivalry, things came into his head like them. And so he made up his mind to watch over his arms all one night without sitting or lying down, but now standing and now kneeling before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat, where he decided to leave his garments and clothe himself with the arms of Christ. .... Arrived at Montserrat, after praying and arranging with the confessor, he made a general confession in writing. And the confession lasted three days and he agreed with the confessor that he should order the mule to be taken away and that he should hang up his sword and dagger in the church by the altar of Our Lady. And that was the first man to whom he made known his determination; because up to then he had disclosed it to none of his confessors.

The 24th of March, 1522, the eve of Our Lady, as secretly as possible he gave to a poor man all his clothes and put on the clothes he longed for and went to kneel before the altar of Our Lady, and now there and now on foot, staff in hand, passed the whole night, and left for Barcelona at daybreak." Pp. 35-36

APPENDIX C

"Outlines for the plan of the Company of Jesus"
Cited Van Dyke, Ignatius Loyola - Pp. 134 - 136

. . . . ."Whoever wishes to be a warrior of God under the banner of the cross in our Company, which we call by the name of Jesus, and to serve only God and His Vicar on earth, must keep in his mind after he has taken the vow of perpetual chastity that he is part of a community founded chiefly to aid souls in Christian living and Christian doctrine, to spread the word of God by preaching, by spiritual exercises, by deeds of neighborly kindness and especially by the instruction of children and the ignorant in Christianity,

He must always have God before his eyes and strive all his might towards the goal shown him by God, keeping always before him those rules which are in a manner a way to God. The decision about the place or position in service which belongs to every man must rest entirely in the hands of the prepositus to be chosen by us. This propositus shall have power to make statues with the advice of the brothers in concilium when the majority shall always decide. The executive power and the power to give orders belong only to the prepositus (general).

All members, so long as life lasts, shall every day bethink themselves of the fact that this Company and all in it are under the command of our holy Master Paul III. and

his successors, so that we are bound to give in something more than the obedience of ordinary clergymen. We are bound by special oath to do whatever he orders us to do; whether he send us to the Turks or to the new world, or to the Lutherans, or to any other believers or unbelievers.

Every member shall promise obedience to the general in all things concerning the rule. He on his side must always be mindful of the goodness, the gentleness, and love of Christ. Both shall lay it on their hearts to instruct children and the ignorant in Christian doctrine, in the ten commandments and other elementary things.

We have learned by experience that a way of living as far from greed and as near to evangelic poverty as possible is more edifying to our neighbors and that Christ will provide for his servants. We cannot hold any legal right to any income or real property, but must be content with the simple use of things necessary to life by the consent of the owners.

All ordained members are to say the breviary according to the rites of the Church, not however all together in choir on order that they may not be turned aside from the duties of neighborly love. They shall not use in divine service either the organ or chanting. For these things, which adorn the divine worship of other orders, we have found by experience to be no small hindrance to us; since we devote a great part of the day and night to the bodily and spiritual care of the sick.

We make this sketch of what we do and propose in order to warn our successors against falling into two errors we escaped. First, no one shall ever enjoin upon the members of our company fasts, scourgings, going bare-footed, or bare-headed, fixed colours of dress and fixed foods, hair shirts or other ascetic observances. We do not forbid these things because we condemn them, but because we do not wish our brethren to find in them an excuse for withdrawing themselves from the duties we have undertaken.

The second error to be avoided is this. No one can be received into the comapny unless he has been very thoroughly tested for a long time."

APPENDIX D

The Constitution

Cited: Sedgwick, H. D., Ignatius Loyola, P. 219

Part I.

On admission to the novitiate:

Chap. I. On who has the right to grant admission.

II. On who may be admitted.

III. On impediments that prevent admission.

IV. The procedure of admission.

Part II.

On the matter of dismission those who, having been admitted to probation, are found unsuited to the Society:

Chap. I. Who may be dismissed, and at whose command.

II. On the causes for which it is proper to dismiss.

III. On the procedure of dismissal.

IV. How the society shall behave to those who leave voluntarily, and to those that are dismissed.

Part III.

Concerning what shall be done in the care, keeping, and advancement of the novices.

Chap. I. On taking care of the novices in matters that concern the soul, and progress in virtue:

For this, it is very necessary for the novices to avoid all communication which might chill their purpose; they must not go out of the house except at the time prescribed, and with an appointed companion, and while in the house converse only with those whom the Superior shall designate; they must keep watch and ward over eyes, ears, and tongues; they should speak in words apt for edification (in circonspectioneet aedificationes verborum), wear modest looks, walk with unhurried gait, and never a gesture showing pride or impatience; they should in all matters leave the better things to others, look upon themselves as inferior, and treat every one with the respect due to his station; indeed, each should see in every other an image of God. And it is of the first importance for spiritual progress that all shall give themselves over to a perfect obedience, looking upon the Superior, whoever he may be, as in the place of Christ, and performing not only in outward act but with inward reverence and love, what he shall command, however hard, integre, prompte, fortiter, with due humility, without a murmur, without an excuse. Novices shall love Poverty like a mother; they shall strive after righteousness (rectam intentionem), and shall learn to divest themselves, as much as may be possible, of love of all creatures in order to turn all their affection toward the Creator.

Chap. II. On the care of the body.

Part IV.

On the manner of instructing those who remain in the Society, in liberal studies (litterae) and other things that serve to help our neighbors.

Chap. I. On the gratitude to be shown towards Founders and Benefactors of Colleges.

II. On the property of Colleges.

III. On the students to be matriculated therein.

IV. On dealing with students who have been dismitted.

V. On studies:

These shall consist of grammar, rhetoric, languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, theology, both scholastic and positive, and the Holy Scriptures. As a rule Latin is to be spoken. And so on; with provisions for schools to be opened in connection with the colleges, for the government of the colleges, and for studies in any possible Jesuit university. Some text books are prescribed: in theology, the Old and New Testaments; in scholastic doctrine, St. Thomas Aquinas; in positive theology, part of the Canon Law and decisions of Councils; in logic, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, the treatises of Aristotle. In Greek and Latin literature care is to be taken in the choice of books unless they have been expurgated. This Fourth Part does not go into great detail, but it contains the germ of what became, some thirty or forty years later, the famous Ratio Studiorum which occupied the youth of the upper classes in Europe for generations.

Part V.

Deals with admission to the Society, and designates various grades. The lowest is the novitiate; next there is an intermediate class of Scholastici approbati, who devote themselves to their studies or to spiritual discipline; from this intermediate stage members pass into what either of the Coadjutores formati, or of the Professi. The coadjutors are divided into the spiritual and the temporal; the former are priests, or to become priests, and occupy themselves with religious matters, while the latter have strictly secular employment. Of the Professi, the greater number add to the three regular vows, the additional fourth vow; a few, who have too little talent for preaching or are not sufficiently learned, do not.

Part VI.

On those who are admitted and received into the

body of the Society:

Chap. I. On what appertains to obedience:

Sancta Obedientia: All must observe obedience and strive to excel in it; not only in routine, but in everything, not waiting for express command, but on the mere indication of the Superior's will. All must keep God before their eyes, obey from love and not from fear, and strain every nerve of their strength in the virtue. "Dropping every occupation, - and leaving unfinished the letter we have begun - and bending all our strength and purpose in the Lord to that end, so that holy obedience be perfect in us in every respect, in execution, in will, in having no other will than his from whom we receive the order; obedience in understanding, in thinking as the Superior thinks, and in believing what he ordains is rightly ordained. Otherwise obedience is imperfect. We are to do whatever shall be commanded us, with great promptitude, and spiritual joy and steadfastness; persuading ourselves that all commands are righteous; and laying aside in blind obedience our own opinion to the contrary; yea, in everything prescribed by the Superior - where it cannot be definitely shown that some kind of sin is involved. Leteveryone convince himself that those who live under Obedience, should be led and governed by Divine Providence through their Superiors, perinde ac si cadaver essent, as a corpse would be, that allows itself to be carried here or there, and handled after any fashion; or like an old man's staff, which suffers itself to be used everywhere, and in any way, that he who holds it wishes."

Chap. II. Concerning poverty.

III. On what members of the Society may do, and what not.

IV. On the aid given to those that are in the Society.

V. That the Constitution does not impose obligations under the penalty of sin.

Part VII.

On missions.

Part VIII.

On the means of maintaining union between the members scattered abroad, with one another and with the General.

Part IX.

On the General and his mode of government. This chapter deals with the qualities desirable in a General, with his authority and functions, with the limitations and checks upon his power, which are extremely elaborate, and cut down his autocratic prerogatives very greatly.

Part X.

How to preserve and increase the Society.

APPENDIX E

From a letter of Loyola to "the brethren of the Society of Jesus who are at Lusitania, April, 1553.

"On the Obedience of Virtue":

"The only virtue that inserts the other virtues in the mind and guards those that have been inserted. While this flourishes, beyond doubt the rest will flourish. .... Our salvation was wrought by 'Him who became obedient unto death'. .... We may the more easily suffer ourselves to be surpassed by other religious orders in fastings, vigils, and other asperity of food and clothing, which each by its own ritual and discipline holily receives: I could wish, dearest brethren, that you who serve ourLord Jesus Christ in this society should be conspicuous indeed in true and perfect obedience and abnegation of will andespecially of judgment; and for the true and germane progeny of this same society to be distinguished as it were by this note, that they never look upon the person himself whom they obey . Even if the Superior be ornamented and furnished with prudence, goodness, and whatever other gifts, he is not to be obeyed on account of these things, but solely because he is God's viceregent by whose authority he performs his functions, who says 'he that heareth you heareth me', he that despiseth you despiseth me': nor, on the contrary even if the superior should be somewhat deficient in counsel or prudence, ought there be any remission of obedience on that

account, so long as he is one's superior: since it has reference to the person of Him whose wisdom cannot be deceived: and He will supply whatever may be wanting to his minister, whether he be lacking in probity or in other ornaments seeing that when Christ had said in express words 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat', he straightway added 'All things therefore whatever they have said to you, observe and do, but refuse to do according to their words'."

Quoted from Loyola in the article, "Jesuits" by A.H. Newman, Schaff-Hertzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.

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